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YOUNG PEOPLE'S IMAGES OF CANADIAN SOCIETY
An Opinion Survey of Canadian Youth
13 to 20 Years of Age

by

John W.C. Johnstone

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YOUNG PEOPLE'S IMAGES OF CANADIAN SOCIETY
An Opinion Survey of Canadian Youth
13 to 20 Years of Age

Prepared for the Royal Commission
on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

by

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With the assistance of

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INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

A. General Nature of the Study

This research explores how the 1965 cohort of Canadian young people, thirteen to twenty, perceived their national homeland. The report describes the results of a national sample survey in which 1,365 young Canadians gave their views on a variety of issues concerning the nature of their country, its people, and its problems, and on their own future expectations about living in Canada as adults.

The study focuses on three quite distinct levels of impressions regarding Canadian society. The first concern in the research was to assess young people's perspectives on Canada as a unitary whole, its distinctive features as a nation, its ties with other nations, the nature of its social and political organization, and the distinctiveness of the Canadian people viewed as an undifferentiated collectivity. These themes constitute the primary focus of Chapter I.

The second concern of the inquiry is with impressions as to areas of internal differentiation within Canadian society. Chapter II considers young people's awareness of the social diversity of their society, their impressions regarding areas of consensus and cleavage in Canadian life, and their views on relations between the two main cultural groups in Canada. Chapter III then analyses attitudes on the issue of bilingual goals for the national community.

The remaining sections of the report deal not so much with images of Canadian society as with young people's reactions to their own position

and role in Canadian life. Attitudes regarding bilingualism are reexamined in Chapter IV, but here in relation to the uses young people see for bilingual skills in their own lives--both for the present and in the future. And Chapter V, finally, deals with young people's thoughts regarding residential mobility in the future.

Although a wide range of both cognitive and affective reactions were solicited in relation to these various topics, the study is somewhat more heavily focused on beliefs and impressions than on attitudes, opinions or feelings. These perceptual components are never easily disentangled, of course, and the adage that one sees what one is motivated to see is probably nowhere more applicable than in the case of a concept as emotionally-laden as the "national homeland." Nonetheless, the inquiry is more concerned with how young people define their country than in what they like or dislike about it; is more concerned with how they describe relations among Canadian subgroups than with their feelings about these groups; and is much more concerned with the problems they see as threatening to national unity than with their own personal satisfactions or grievances as members of Canadian society or a particular subculture within it.

Data for the study were collected by means of a self-administered questionnaire which was distributed to a national sample of adolescents and young adults between May and early July of 1965. The study was carried out in conjunction with the Royal Commission's national survey of Canadian adults, the general strategy being to distribute questionnaires to all thirteen- to twenty-year-old youth located in the households contacted in

the main survey.[1] This method yielded a total of 1,365 useable questionnaires, and the completion rate for the survey was 66.6 per cent of all young people located.

As it turned out, however, response rates were considerably higher among younger adolescents than older ones, and because of this it was necessary to weight the respondents not only according to the specifications of the original sampling plan but also in terms of the overall completion rate for the age-group in which they fell. These discrepancies in response rate were produced mainly because older teen-agers were more difficult to locate at home, but in part because a number of nineteen- and twenty-year olds were interviewed as part of the adult survey and were therefore ineligible to receive a questionnaire.

Throughout the first two chapters of this report, the discussion is centered primarily around three dimensions of comparison--language spoken at home, region, and age. The general strategy of reporting here is (a) to introduce each topic by first comparing the views of young people who speak English, French or a language other than English or French at home; (b) to then assess variations in these points of view among French youth living in two regions (Quebec and non-Quebec) and among English youth living in five (Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario, Prairies, and B. C.); and (c) to then evaluate the stability of these perspectives among English- and French-

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[1] A complete description of the study methods, field procedures, sample design, completion rates and weighting procedures is presented in Appendix A. A copy of the questionnaire, in both English and French, appears in Appendix B.

speaking young people situated in four different age-groups.[2] In the first two chapters, then, the primary emphasis is on the description and evaluation of images of Canadian society rather than on tracing their social determinants.

In Chapter III, by contrast, attitudes regarding bilingualism in the national community are linked to a much wider variety of background factors, and in addition an analysis is made of the influence of intergroup contacts and bilingual facility on these dispositions. In Chapter IV, the discussion focuses mainly on the different meanings English- and French-speaking youth attach to the importance of being bilingual, and in Chapter V, expectations regarding future residential mobility are again examined in relation to language, region, and age.

One of the principal analytic concerns in this study is with the effects of adolescence on beliefs and attitudes regarding the national homeland. Because all of the data were collected at just one period of time, however, interpretations as to developmental changes must be inferred on the basis of cross-sectional age-comparisons. Strictly speaking, these comparisons do not measure changes over time, and in making inferences of this type one runs a certain risk of misinterpretation. In a study of adolescents, however, these risks would be extremely slight. Not only is this stage of life one in which gross maturational changes are to be expected, but the entire age-range involved here is just eight

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[2] Because only a small number of respondents reported speaking a language other than English or French at home, this group cannot be subdivided on additional characteristics. Comparisons based on region and age, then, are restricted to English- and French-speaking youth.

years. All persons in the study were born between the late summer of 1944 and the late spring of 1952. Thus, except for the foreign-born, all had lived their early childhood years during the post-war period of Canada's national growth and prosperity. Moreover, none had lived through the ethnic tensions of the World War II years, and all had been at least pre-adolescents at the time of the most recent upswing of ethnic tensions in Canada. The young people under study here, in short, could be described as relatively homogeneous in terms of the type of national social climate to which they had been exposed during the formative years of childhood and early adolescence.

B. Principal Findings of the Study

The main findings of the study are now presented in overview. These are summarized chapter by chapter, the letters indicating the specific section within each chapter from which the results are drawn.

I. Definitions of Canadian Society

(A). Sharp ethnic differences were found in the kinds of features young people identified as most prominent about their country. French youth were markedly impressed by the provincial structure of Canada, and showed a much higher propensity than either English-speaking youth or members of the smaller ethnic minorities to define Canada in terms of its provinces. Members of both other groups, on the other hand, were much more likely to think of Canada in terms of economic characteristics--its natural resources, industries, or general economic prospects for the future. Moreover, except for minor variations, these differences were found to hold up

in all regions of the country, and in all age-groups. This would suggest that French youth learn very early in life to think of their country as basically a political union, while English young people as well as those speaking other languages, if anything, learn to perceive Canada more as an economic entity.

(B). English- and French-speaking youth also differed in their perspectives on the Canadian opportunity structure. English youth saw Canada very much as an open-class society, where success depends primarily on talent, schooling and effort. French young people, by comparison, viewed the Canadian social structure as more stratified, where who you are and who you know are also important. For French youth, being bilingual was seen as the most important single factor guaranteeing success in Canadian life--more important even than a university education or hard work.

Moreover, the two groups of young people seemed to grow further apart in their views on the importance of being bilingual as they passed through the teen-years. The experiences of adolescence would appear to reinforce and strengthen French young people's beliefs as to the necessity of speaking English, while teaching many English-speaking young people that they don't really have to be able to speak French in order to get along well in Canadian life. Variations on this result turned up frequently throughout the study.

(C). Young people from all backgrounds thought of Canada more in terms of its contemporary North American roots than its European heritage. There was a high consensus that Canada has closer ties to the United States than to any other country, and consensus on this was particularly strong among the French.

Moreover, all groups favoured the new flag over an hypothetical historically-symbolic one, and it was the French again who most substantially rejected symbolism with the past. Among English youth there was a considerable lack of regional consensus on the flag question, support for the new emblem being strongest among those from Quebec and B. C., and weakest among those from the Maritime provinces. Support for traditional symbolism was also found to be considerably lower among older adolescents.

(D). Strong regional differences were also found in young people's orientations to different levels of government in the Canadian federal system. Both the Quebec French and the B. C. English displayed a particularly strong provincial emphasis in their evaluations of government, although the two groups differed in that the provincialism of the Quebec French was accompanied by strongly negative dispositions regarding the federal government, while that of the B. C. English was not. Positive orientations toward the federal government were strongest among English young people from Quebec and the Maritimes, although here again there was evidence that the motivation behind these assessments differed for the two groups: for the Maritime English federal support seemed to emerge largely as a reaction to the inertia of municipal administrations, while for the Quebec English it stemmed from a lack of confidence both in local and provincial governments.

One of the most striking age shifts found in the whole study was in relation to orientations to government. Among both English- and French-speaking young people, positive evaluations of government at the provincial

level increased sharply among the older age-groups. It is during the adolescent years, then, that young people would appear to become aware of the salience of sectional interests in Canadian life.

(E). Most Canadian young people viewed themselves, collectively, as more similar to than distinct from Americans. English youth and members of the non-French minorities shared a high degree of consensus about this, although an actual majority of French youth too did see commonalities as overriding differences.

Moreover, there were relatively few specific features on which young people rated Canadians as distinct from Americans, the only marked and commonly perceived distinctions being on the relative wealth of the two peoples and the nature of their form of government. Here again, however, French young people tended to see more features as distinctively Canadian.

Although all three groups also rated English- and French-speaking Canadians as more alike than different, both non-French groups did so just marginally. Both these groups, in fact, saw considerably more areas of commonality between Canadians and Americans than between the two main groups within Canada. English-speaking young people were therefore more likely than French to stress areas of difference between the two cultures, the most important differences being seen as the views held by the two groups on national goals for Canada, and on the type of government Canada should have.

Sharp regional variations were also found on these views, the English from western provinces and the Quebec French being much more likely to stress intergroup differences than their counterparts from other regions.

All in all, regional perspectives seemed to be more salient here than ethnic ones.

Finally, when confronted with the issue directly, English-speaking young people admitted they had more in common with Americans than with French Canadians, while French youth felt they had more in common with the English in Canada than with their neighbors to the south. The social and cultural orientations of English-speaking young people, in other words, would appear to more frequently cross national than ethnic lines, while those of French youth would not. These results suggest a severe gap in the social-psychological basis for intergroup solidarity among Canada's emerging cohort of young adults.

II. Social Relations in Canadian Society

(A). At least the larger ethnic minorities in Canada appear to be visible to sizeable numbers of young people from the two main cultures. Levels of awareness in this regard were found to increase somewhat with age, but more importantly they varied sharply by region, groups other than the French and English being more visible to those living in regions of greater social heterogeneity. Young people would thus appear to derive their impressions of the social diversity of Canadian society more often from direct personal experiences than from information from secondary sources.

There was also a marked tendency for young people from all three language groups to misrepresent their own numbers in the population. All three groups saw themselves as more numerous then they actually were, tended very infrequently to underestimate themselves, and were in general more

accurate in estimating the sizes of other language groups in Canada than in appraising their own numbers. In this regard, however, the estimates made by French-speaking youth displayed a remarkable shifting during adolescence: those just entering their teens were much more likely to overrepresent themselves than to overestimate English-speaking Canadians, while those just entering adulthood did just the opposite. This would suggest that over the adolescent years French-speaking youth not only become cognizant of the fact of English-language dominance in Canadian society, but are so impressed by this feature of Canadian life that they come to grossly overstate their own minority position.

(B). All groups of young people felt that French-English differences of opinion posed a relatively greater threat to Canadian national unity than did differences of opinion between other pairs of social aggregates. Here again, however, the English and French made quite different appraisals of the extent to which they would probably disagree about Canada's future. English youth saw the two groups as definitely in disagreement on this score, while French young people were considerably more optimistic that a consensus could be found. Those in the third group were again closer to the English position than to the French, although they perceived an even greater French-English cleavage than did the English.

On other social dimensions, there was a fairly high consensus that regional differences of opinion and differences between the economic classes were more threatening to Canada than cleavages between immigrant and native-born populations, religious groups, or urban and rural populations.

(C). All three groups of young people thus agreed that present

relations between the two main cultures were not as good as they might be, but they disagreed sharply in their interpretations as to when closer relations might be expected. In the eyes of the French, the situation was already seen to be improving, but both other groups felt it was worsening. In thinking ahead ten years, however, all groups were highly optimistic about the prospects for better relations.

III. Commitment to Bilingual Goals for Canada

(A). On balance the reactions of English-speaking young people to the question of bilingual goals for Canada indicated what could at best be assessed as a modest level of linguistic tolerance. Their reactions suggested, on the one hand, a widespread acceptance and recognition that French has at least some role to play in Canadian life, but on the other, a substantial though by no means overwhelming degree of reluctance to see any extension of this role.

There was a widening divergence of sentiment between the two groups in those areas more suggestive of direct behavioral implications or of social change. The two groups were not too far apart in their views on whether a bilingual population would be a good thing for Canada, nor in their acceptance of the existing constitutional position of French and English in Canadian society. They were considerably further apart, however, in their views on the teaching of two languages in schools, and on the personal obligations that individuals have in becoming bilingual. And curiously, they were furthest apart of all in their attitudes regarding the value of bilingual road signs throughout Canada. These findings would

suggest that the extension of French usage in English-speaking Canada would be less unacceptable to young English-speaking Canadians when introduced through channels where French has already been to some degree established.

(B). Boys and girls were found to differ in their overall attitudes on bilingual goals for Canada, in both language groups the girls showing the higher commitment to bilingualism. With regard to age, countervailing trends were found in the responses of the two language groups. Among the English a slight but consistent diminution of commitment was found in each progressively older group, while among the French an equally consistent trend was found in the other direction. It would appear, in short, that as English-speaking young people pass through adolescence their tolerance for bilingualism decreases, while over the same years French youth come to feel more strongly about the position of their language in Canadian society. Members of the two cultures thus enter adulthood a good deal further apart in their views on bilingualism than they were when they entered adolescence.

Social class background was not found to have a very substantial impact on these attitudes, and besides ethnicity the strongest predictor by far of commitment to bilingualism was again found to be region. Among the English there was a sharp drop in favourable sentiment west of Ontario. Strong feelings regarding the position and status of the French language in Canadian society were also more widespread among French-speaking youth living in regions of predominantly English influence. Since the Quebec English also showed more linguistic tolerance than their counterparts from other regions, the overall pattern which emerged was that commitment to a

bilingual Canada was stronger among persons living outside their region of linguistic dominance.

(C). Intergroup contacts were not found to affect attitudes regarding bilingualism in any consistent manner. The effects, rather, were highly dependent on the type of external environment in which the contact took place. Among English youth, interpersonal contacts with French in regions of predominantly English-language influence appeared to do little to increase their tolerance for or commitment to bilingualism in the national community. For French youth in these same regions, however, contacts greatly strengthened language convictions. In English-speaking Canada, in other words, a considerable imbalance was found in the effects intergroup exchanges had on members of the two cultures. This differential was much less marked in Quebec.

(D). Bilingual facility appears to be quite unevenly distributed among Canadian young people just as it is among their elders. Interestingly, however, the ethnic imbalance in claims to bilingual facility was found only among those who reported having frequent contact with members of the other culture. Among those isolated from intergroup contacts, identical proportions of English and French young people claimed a conversational skill in the other language. When young people from the two cultures do meet, however, the language of their transactions would be predominantly English.

IV. Perceived Functions of Being Bilingual

(A). Virtually all French young people enter adolescence fully cognizant that a speaking ability in English is of prime importance to their

future, and the experiences they encounter during adolescence do little to weaken this view. Over the same years, however, a fairly sizeable number of English youth seem to develop the outlook that their use for French will cease once they have completed their high-school or college language requirements.

(B). We also found that the very same language uses denoted quite different meanings to members of the two cultures. When French-speaking youth assessed the uses of bilingualism, their thinking was dominated by occupational considerations, and they perceived job consequences in a much wider variety of situations than did English youth. French youth also recognized a long-range occupational relevance for bilingual skills, while English tended to interpret the occupational functions of bilingualism more as credentials for entering the labour market. The French, in short, were much the more likely to view bilingualism as an occupational necessity--and particularly in relation to long-range career prospects.

(C). English young people, finally, were found to evaluate the question of bilingual goals for the national community pretty much on the basis of how they evaluated the functions of bilingual skills in their own lives. If they saw a personal use for French themselves, then they saw bilingualism as good for Canada; otherwise not. Most French youth, on the other hand, could endorse the virtues of a bilingual Canada whether or not they perceived any personal advantage in knowing English.

V. Expectations Regarding the Future

(A). Canadian young people had definite views on the areas of their country where they would like to live and prefer to avoid. Although most

rated their own province favourably, all groups thought that British Columbia and Ontario would be good places to live, and all mainland groups rejected Newfoundland as a province in which to take up residence. These reactions varied sharply among the different language groups, of course, and as expected French youth identified considerably fewer places in which they would consider taking up residence. On balance, the French also tended to rate fewer and fewer provinces as attractive as they grew older, and the Quebec French listed more they would want to avoid than live in. Moreover, there was a tendency for both English- and French-speaking youth to restrict their positive evaluations to provinces in their own territories of linguistic and cultural dominance.

In terms of expectations regarding the future, then, the Quebec French were the most likely to anticipate staying in their own province, those in the older age-groups being more certain about this than their juniors. Among the English, the Maritimers were most likely to anticipate an interprovincial move, Ontarians were the most stable in their residential expectations, and those from Quebec and the Prairie provinces showed the highest levels of uncertainty as to where they would be living.

(B). English-speaking young people also displayed a clearcut readiness to accept employment opportunities wherever they might be found within Canada, while a majority of the French rejected the idea of moving to a different Canadian region in order to get a better job. Both groups, however, strongly recommended against taking a job in the United States, and it was members of the non-French-speaking minorities who reacted most favourably to this latter possibility. It was revealing, nonetheless, that

among the Quebec French more recommended taking a job in the United States than in a different region of their own country.

The Quebec French also perceived their future job prospects as much better in their own province than elsewhere in Canada, while the Quebec English saw better employment chances in other provinces. Of all the regional groups, however, it was the Maritime English who most frequently saw their best job opportunities as elsewhere than in their own province.

CHAPTER I

DEFINITIONS OF CANADIAN SOCIETY

> "The child . . . preserves both an astonishing degree of ignorance and a striking insensitivity not only to his own designation and that of his associates . . . but toward his own country as a collective reality. . . . The adolescent is the individual who begins to build "systems" or "theories" in the largest sense of the term. . . . Most of them have political or social theories and want to reform the world; they have their own ways of explaining all of the present-day turmoil in collective life."[1]

The first chapter of this report examines a number of perspectives from which Canadian adolescents and young adults view their society. The chapter is organized around five rather loosely connected concerns, and begins by exploring the types of things which stand out in young people's minds as the most prominent features of Canada. Following this, the focus then shifts to consider young people's impressions of the Canadian social structure and looks at the assessments they make of the importance of different attributes in helping a young person become successful in Canadian life. The third section then considers two sets of opinions which reflect young people's feelings regarding Canada's connections with the past; first, opinions regarding the countries to which Canada has its closest ties today; and second, opinions on the national flag issue, which had been resolved just a few months before the beginning of this study. A fourth section then looks at attitudes regarding different levels of

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[1] Barbel Inhelder and Jean Piaget, The Growth of Logical Thinking From Childhood to Adolescence. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1958, pp. 339, 348

government in the Canadian federal system, and the fifth, by considering impressions regarding the extent and ways in which Canadians differ from their southern neighbors, touches on the sensitive area of the Canadian national identity.

Throughout this chapter the principal focus for discussion is comparative. The main goals of the analysis are to compare the incidence of particular impressions, beliefs and feelings among different sub-groups of young people--rather than to elaborate in depth the "theories" or "systems" which young people construct regarding the nature of their homeland. The three main foci for comparison are language spoken at home, region and age. Each substantive topic is first introduced by comparing the reactions of three groups--those speaking French, English or languages other than French or English at home. Following this the reactions of English- and French-speaking youth are examined further by subdividing respondents according to region and age. This constitutes the main format of the analysis throughout most of the report, with other background characteristics being introduced only in relation to specific topics. In the main, then, this chapter poses three basic questions concerning definitions of Canadian society: (a) Do young people from different ethnic backgrounds share the same beliefs and opinions regarding their country? (b) Do impressions about Canada vary among young people living in different parts of the country? and (c) Do beliefs about Canada remain stable over the adolescent years, or do they change?

A. Salient Images of Canada

At the very end of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to do the following:

> Question 64. Here is a blank map of Canada. It has no place names on it at all. Your job is to write in five words or phrases that you think best describe Canada. You can put down anything you want, and write anywhere on the map, but you can only put on five things. Which five places or things do you think best describe Canada?

The first section of this chapter examines the content which young people assigned to these maps. Because of the structure and placement of this question, of course, the responses it elicited cannot be represented as the strictly unaided impressions young people have of their country. Indeed, both of these factors probably did induce a number of respondents to think about features of Canada they might not have thought about had the question been asked in a different way or at a different time. On the other hand, the question did afford considerable choice in the selection of answers, and it is certainly instructuve to examine the kinds of features young people identified as most important about their country after having been exposed to a variety of questions concerning it.

To begin, Table I-1 reports the frequency with which features of different types were entered by persons from the three language groups.[2] The content categories shown in this table include references of the following types:

(1) Natural terrain or geography. Due undoubtedly to the stimulus of the map outline, the features about Canada most frequently cited by members of all three language groups pertained to characteristics of the natural environment--oceans, lakes, rivers, mountains or descriptive designations

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[2]Eighty-nine per cent of the respondents entered content of some type on the maps while 11 per cent left the question unanswered. In this and subsequent tables dealing with responses to this question, percentages are computed only for those who did answer the question.

such as "beautiful country" or "big country." References of this type were entered by approximately three-quarters of the non French-speaking respondents, and by two-thirds of the French.

TABLE I-1

SALIENT FEATURES OF CANADA, by language spoken at home

Type of Content	English (N=738)	French (N=448)	Other (N=31)
	Per cent who assigned content of each type to free answer maps of Canada[a]		
Natural terrain or geography	75	66	77
Economic resources or industries ..	67	44	61
Climatic conditions	15	4	7
Form of government or way of life..	27	13	36
Political subdivisions--regional...	14	18	12
Political subdivisions--provincial.	12	52	16
Political subdivisions--municipal..	11	26	18
Social environment--demographic....	15	8	6
Social environment--social and cultural subdivisions	15	13	14
Personal characteristics of Canadian people	18	4	11
Symbolic-patriotic content	11	8	2
Total	280[b]	251	260

[a]Percentages exclude persons who did not answer the question, and are computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

[b]Totals to more than 100 per cent because most respondents entered more than one type of content.

(2) Economic resources or industries. A second set of frequently cited references pertained to economic resources. These consisted of references either to resources in their natural state (e.g., "forests" or "iron ore"), to industries or the products of human industry ("wheat," "tourist trade," "manufacturing," "fishing"), or to general economic conditions ("land of opportunity" or "depressed area"). Interestingly, content of this type was entered much less frequently by French-speaking youth than by members of the other two groups.

(3) Climatic conditions. Canada's climate was of little salience to most young people, although 15 per cent of the English-speaking group did make references of this type, most describing the severity of the Canadian winter.

(4) Form of government or way of life. Moving into dimensions more reflective of the social order, a sizeable minority made reference to the general political structure of Canadian society. These entries consisted in the main of terms such as "democratic" or "free society," and were particularly frequent in the responses of persons speaking languages other than English or French. They were cited considerably less often by the French.

(5) Political subdivisions. Fairly sizeable numbers of respondents also picked up on the stimulus of the map outline to identify specific locations in the country; either regions, provinces, cities or towns. The interesting feature here, however, was that French youth made these references much more often than members of the other two groups did, this being particularly true in the case of provincial designations. Over half the French-speaking youth, compared with just 12 per cent of the English and 16 per cent of

the "others," entered names of provinces on the map. This tendency was most pronounced in the naming of Quebec, but it was also evident in the naming of other provinces too. Table I-2 shows the rates at which all ten provinces were identified, and indicates that in all cases except Prince Edward Island,[3] it was the French who most frequently listed specific provinces. Quebec was identified by 44 per cent, Ontario by 22 per cent and British Columbia by 16 per cent. Regions, provinces, and municipalities, in fact, represented the only features of Canada cited most frequently by French-speaking youth.

TABLE I-2

REFERENCES TO SPECIFIC PROVINCES IN CONTENT ASSIGNED TO FREE-ANSWER MAPS OF CANADA, by language spoken at home

Content	English (N=738)	French (N=448)	Other (N=31)
Total who named or identified provinces	12%[a]	52%	16%
Alberta	2[b]	12	5
British Columbia	5	16	11
Manitoba	1	9	--
New Brunswick	1	5	--
Newfoundland	1	12	5
Nova Scotia	1	4	--
Ontario	4	22	--
Prince Edward Island	1	2	5
Quebec	7	44	10
Saskatchewan	1	8	--
Did not name or identify provinces	88	48	84
Total	100	100	100

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

[b]Subtotals exceed group totals because most persons who named one province tended to name others.

[3]Due to a printer's error, Prince Edward Island was not shown on the outline map.

(6) Social environment--demographic. Table I-1 also indicates that 15 per cent of the English and smaller numbers in the other two groups referred to the general nature of Canada's population in defining their country. Most of these references were that Canada's population is small, although some did refer to it as "young" or as "heterogeneous." This dimension was not particularly salient to any group.

(7) Social environment--social and cultural subdivisions. This category included all references to specific groups of people living in Canada, to the bilingual or bicultural nature of the country, and all designations suggesting areas of consensus or cleavage among different subgroups within the population (e.g., "divided country"). Interestingly, only about one person in seven made reference to any of these characteristics even though the questionnaire had dealt heavily with these themes. There were no meaningful group differences in the rates at which designations of this type were entered.

(8) Personal characteristics of the Canadian people. A small number of respondents, and principally English-speaking ones, identified personality traits either of the Canadian people as a whole (e.g., "an industrious people") or with obvious reference to a specific group within the population ("religious"--written over Quebec). Only 4 per cent of French youth made references of this type compared with 18 per cent of the English and 11 per cent of the "others."

(9) Symbolic-patriotic content. The final category brought together all content of a symbolic or patriotic nature, and included references to the Queen, the flag, the RCMP, and the maple leaf. Very few young people used

content of this sort to describe Canada, however, although English- and French-speaking youth did so somewhat more frequently than those in the third group.

In overview, the most important finding here is that there were prominent group differences on references to economic resources and to provinces. French-speaking young people seem to be quite strongly impressed by the provincial structure of Canadian society, and apart from features of the natural environment they most frequently thought about this aspect of Canada when filling out the maps. Non-French-speaking youth, on the other hand, did not think of their country very often in these terms, and by contrast, were much more likely to think about economic characteristics when confronted with a map of Canada. In the eyes of French young people, then, Canada would appear to be fundamentally perceived as a political union; for English youth and members of the smaller minorities it represents much more an economic union.

Next, these same responses are reported regionally in Table I-3, the French being divided into two regional groupings and the English into five. Looking first at the French, the two groups are seen to differ most widely in the rates at which they assigned names of provinces to the maps, the Quebec French doing so 17 per cent more often than those living in other regions. This tendency, coupled with the fact that the non-Quebec French were 9 per cent more likely to cite economic characteristics of the country, suggests that of the two groups it was the Quebec French who differed more widely from English-speaking youth in their perspectives on these matters. At the same time, however, the responses of the non-Quebec French were more similar to those of the Quebec French than those of the English.

TABLE I-3

SALIENT FEATURES OF CANADA, by language spoken at home and region

Type of Content	Per cent who assigned content of each type to free-answer maps of Canada[a]						
	French		English				
	Quebec (N=291)	Non-Quebec (N=157)	Maritimes (N=111)	Quebec (N=99)	Ontario (N=264)	Prairies (N=169)	B.C. (N=95)
Natural terrain or geography	65	66	65	70	81	76	72
Economic resources or industries	42	51	69	69	64	66	69
Climatic conditions	4	5	16	7	11	20	18
Form of government or way of life	11	21	34	32	29	23	19
Political subdivisions--regional	18	17	7	19	15	18	13
Political subdivisions--provincial	55	38	18	21	9	11	12
Political subdivisions--municipal	26	24	9	15	7	12	19
Social environment--demographic	8	4	14	14	15	16	16
Social environment--social and cultural subdivisions	15	7	17	23	16	14	10
Personal characteristics of Canadian people	3	5	25	20	16	18	13
Symbolic-patriotic content	6	17	16	12	9	10	11
Total	253[b]	255	290	302	272	284	272

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted group totals.

[b]Totals to more than 100 per cent because most respondents entered more than one type of content.

In addition to these differences, the Quebec French were also 8 per cent more likely to refer to social and cultural subdividions within Canada, while those living outside of Quebec were 11 per cent more likely to cite symbolic or patriotic content and 10 per cent more likely to describe Canada in terms of its form of government or way of life.

Among the English the most interesting regional differences were on references to the Canadian way of life and to characteristics of the Canadian people. Both of these features were cited much less frequently by persons in the western regions, with the two coastal groups being furthest apart of all. An explanation for these trends is not immediately apparent, but they do suggest a greater propensity on the part of Eastern Canadian young people to think of Canada in terms of generalizations concerning either the nature of the society or the personal traits of its people. There are no equally prominent regional trends operating in the opposite direction.

With respect to economic considerations, the figures indicate a high level of consensus in perspective among English-speaking groups from different parts of the country, the rates varying by just five percentage points across the five regions. On other features, the main findings were as follows: the Maritime English were highest on references to symbolic and patriotic themes; regions, provinces, and social and cultural subdivisions were cited most often by the Quebec English; young people from Ontario, for some reason not altogether clear, were the ones who most frequently identified features of the natural terrain; references to climate were made most frequently by young people from prairie provinces; and British Columbia youth were the ones most likely to identify specific cities or towns.

Although modest regional variations thus appear on a number of dimensions, Table I-3 also suggests that the differences based on language were more prominent than those based on region. This tendency is demonstrated more clearly in Table I-4, where measures are presented which summarize the degree to which the responses of different groups were similar to one another.[4] These results show that on all comparisons levels of consensus were higher within language groups than between them, thus suggesting that ethnicity had a greater influence on these responses than did region.

In addition, the figures also confirm that of the two groups of French it was those from Quebec whose perspectives on Canada differed more widely from the views held by English-speaking young people: for English youth from all five regions, levels of consensus were lower with the Quebec French than with those living in other provinces. Interethnic consensus was highest between the Quebec-English and the non-Quebec French (.819) and lowest between French from Quebec and English from the Maritimes (.693).

TABLE I-4

DEGREE OF SIMILARITY AMONG LANGUAGE AND REGIONAL GROUPS IN OVERALL DISTRIBUTION OF CONTENT ENTERED ON FREE-ANSWER MAPS

	Scores on Index of Similarity						
Groups	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
(1) Quebec French	--	.872	.693	.767	.723	.743	.749
(2) Non-Quebec French ..		--	.760	.819	.770	.801	.813
(3) Maritime English ...			--	.910	.889	.882	.860
(4) Quebec English				--	.900	.901	.890
(5) Ontario English					--	.931	.890
(6) Prairie English						--	.940
(7) B.C. English							--

[4] These measures are frequently employed in demographic and ecological studies, and indicate as proportions the extent to which two response

Finally, comparisons among the five English-speaking groups indicate a mild tendency for young people from adjacent regions to share more similar perspectives on their country. For those living in adjacent regions, the average level of shared response was .920; for those separated by one region it was .893; for those separated by two, .886, and it was .860 for those living at the eastern and western extremities of the country. This gradient, even though modest, nonetheless indicates that perspectives on Canada as a collective entity tended to be more similar among groups of young people living closer to one another. Levels of shared response were highest between English-speaking young people from B. C. and the Prairies (.940), second highest between those from Ontario and the Prairies (.931), and lowest between those from the two coastal regions (.860).

To what extent, finally, do these impressions vary over the adolescent years? Table I-5 examines the same responses with the two groups divided into four age clusters. The main finding here is that the English-French differences observed for the sample as a whole tend also to be found in comparisons between specific age-groups, an outcome which suggests that the ethnic differences emerge prior to entry into adolescence and do not become substantially erased during these years. At all ages, English-speaking adolescents were considerably more likely to cite economic characteristics of the country, while French were more likely to name provinces.

Several minor fluctuations should be noted in the table, however, these occurring principally among the French. Older French youth showed

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distributions are identical. First, the figures in Table I-3 were repercentaged as profile measures totaling to 100 per cent. The "index of similarity" is 1.000 minus the sum of either positive or negative discrepancies between the two distributions of percentages.

TABLE I-5

AGE DIFFERENCES IN SALIENT FEATURES OF CANADA, by language spoken at home

Type of Content	Per cent who assigned content of each type to free-answer map of Canada[a]							
	English				French			
	13-14 (N=239)	15-16 (N=242)	17-18 (N=190)	19-20 (N=65)	13-14 (N=126)	15-16 (N=141)	17-18 (N=121)	19-20 (N=55)
Natural terrain or geography	77	74	78	70	65	64	66	67
Economic resources or industries	63	68	66	72	45	37	44	49
Climatic conditions	19	11	15	17	6	5	3	3
Form of government or way of life	28	24	28	32	10	9	12	23
Political subdivisions--regional	14	16	12	17	16	17	23	12
Political subdivisions--provincial	10	11	14	12	50	63	48	42
Political subdivisions--municipal	9	11	13	8	22	22	27	37
Social environment--demographic	15	16	11	20	6	5	11	9
Social environment--social and cultural subdivisions	15	13	19	16	10	11	14	19
Personal characteristics of Canadian people	15	23	14	20	1	3	5	5
Symbolic-patriotic content	10	9	15	6	8	7	8	11
Total	275[b]	276	285	290	239	243	261	277

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

[b]Totals to more than 100 per cent because most respondents entered more than one type of content.

a somewhat greater propensity to name cities and towns and to make references to social or cultural groupings within the country, and were a little less likely to name provinces. Among nineteen- and twenty-year-old French youth, in fact, more cited economic features than named provinces.

For the most part, however, the age trends revealed in Table I-5 are neither sharp nor consistent, and when further comparisons were made of the overall similarity of response between English and French youth of different ages, the results indicated no meaningful trend towards either higher or lower consensus. From youngest to oldest, these scores were .750, .718, .737 and .750, thus indicating consistent levels of shared response at all stages of adolescence. The main conclusion suggested here, then, is that the ethnic differences in perspective which exist at age thirteen are still there at age twenty.

B. Perception of the Canadian Social Structure

Impressions regarding the social structure of Canadian society were measured by asking young people to rate the importance of ten different factors in "helping a young person to get ahead in Canadian life today" (see question 40, Appendix B). These evaluations included factors relating both to ascribed and achieved statuses, and thus allow an appraisal to be made of the extent to which members of different groups perceived the opportunity structure of their society as either open or closed.

Table I-6 shows the rates at which members of the three language groups evaluated each of these factors as "very important." The first feature to be noted here is that while French-speaking young people assigned ratings which diverged widely from those given by both other groups, the

evaluations of English youth and those belonging to smaller ethnic minorities were highly similar. On the average, English and French reactions differed by twenty percentage points, while those of the third group differed from the French by seventeen points and from the English by just 7 per cent. This suggests once again, then, that young people from the non-French-speaking minorities tend to perceive Canada much more from English-Canadian than French-Canadian perspectives.

TABLE I-6

IMAGES OF CANADIAN OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE, by language spoken at home

Factor	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
	Per cent who said each factor was very important in helping a young person get ahead in Canadian life[a]		
(1) Get good grades in school	95	69	94
(2) Work hard	94	47	90
(3) Have a nice personality	85	69	77
(4) Get a university education	80	49	83
(5) Know the right people	50	51	61
(6) Be able to speak both French and English	39	75	45
(7) Come from the right family	23	27	27
(8) Come from the right religious group	11	32	35
(9) Be born in Canada	10	22	2
(10) Have parents with a lot of money..	6	11	11

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

These responses also suggest that English-speaking youth view the opportunity structure of Canadian society very much as an open system--one where success depends primarily on talent and effort. They were virtually unanimous in the opinion that "good grades in school" and "hard work" would lead to success, and were also in fairly high agreement on the importance of "a nice personality" and of a university education. By contrast, all four factors describing social origins--coming from the "right" family or religious group, being born in Canada, and having rich parents--were rated extremely low by English youth.

Among French youth, achieved statuses were also rated higher than ascribed ones, but the factor perceived to be of most crucial importance was bilingualism. Seventy-five per cent of the French evaluated language skills as "very important" compared with just 39 per cent of the English and 45 per cent of the "others."

Additional comparisons between the English and the French suggest an underlying pattern of differences. All achievement-related factors were rated much higher by the English than by the French ("hard work" by 47 per cent, university training by 31 per cent and academic performance by 26), while the four ascribed statuses were all rated higher by the French (religious background by 21 per cent, nativity by 12 per cent, economic background by 5 per cent, and social class--coming from the right family--by 4 per cent). Thus, although all three groups of young people do perceive the Canadian social structure as more open than closed, French youth would appear to do so in much more qualified terms. For them the opportunity structure is certainly seen as open--but providing one can speak English.

The widest discrepancy between English and French assessments, and certainly the most interesting, was in the importance attached to "hard work." Virtually all English youth rated this as a very important ingredient of success, but among the French it was endorsed by less than half and was rated sixth highest out of ten. Of all the channels to success listed, "hard work" is undoubtedly the one most representative of an open opportunity system since it makes no restrictions based either on social origins or on individual differences in ability. It is particularly with regard to these evaluations, then, that French-speaking young people could be said to view the Canadian opportunity structure as relatively more restricted.

Next, Table I-7 indicates once again that the main regional variations in assessments occurred among the French. Here, the pattern of differences is a highly interesting one. On all of the achievement factors, for example, it was the non-Quebec French who made the considerably higher ratings, and on the importance of "hard work" and a university education, their assessments were closer to the views of English youth than to those of the Quebec French. These tendencies, then, would suggest that of the two groups it was those living outside of Quebec who saw the Canadian social structure in more open terms. Yet this conclusion is clearly contradicted by the fact that all four ascribed statuses were also rated as more important by the non-Quebec French, albeit just slightly so. In addition, they were also 15 per cent more likely than their Quebec counterparts to stress the importance of being bilingual. It would appear, in short, that the non-Quebec French on the one hand were more likely to share the central English-Canadian beliefs regarding channels to social mobility

TABLE I-7

IMAGES OF CANADIAN OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE, by language spoken at home and region

Factor	Per cent who said each factor was very important in helping a young person get ahead in Canadian life[a]						
	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Maritimes (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
(1) Get good grades in school	66	80	99	95	93	95	94
(2) Work hard	42	73	91	97	95	94	92
(3) Have a nice personality	70	64	86	81	87	85	81
(4) Get a university education	44	67	82	82	75	82	87
(5) Know the right people	49	56	50	52	47	51	57
(6) Be able to speak both French and English	72	87	52	72	37	40	18
(7) Come from the right family	26	33	24	27	25	21	19
(8) Come from the right religious group..	30	40	15	6	10	11	9
(9) Be born in Canada	22	26	10	5	10	11	10
(10) Have parents with a lot of money	10	12	2	8	5	7	6

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

in Canadian life, but on the other were more sensitive to the existence of social barriers which prevent completely free access to these channels.

Table I-7 also displays a strikingly high degree of consensus among English-speaking youth from different regions. The only evaluations which varied meaningfully among the five groups were those concerning the importance of bilingual skills--these being rated highest by a considerable margin by the Quebec English, and lowest by an equally great margin by young people from British Columbia. For the most part, then, English-speaking young people from all regions of Canada share the view that success in Canadian life is gained by scholastic achievement, hard work, higher education and interpersonal know-how.

Table I-8, finally, compares the ratings made by English and French young people in different stages of adolescence. By far the most interesting trend here is that the two groups grow further apart in their views on the importance of bilingualism as they pass through the adolescent years. Among English youth, this factor was rated very important by 44 per cent of the thirteen- and fourteen-year olds, the ratings then falling off progressively to 29 per cent among those entering their twenties. Over the same years, however, the evaluations of French youth rise moderately and consistently. This suggests that while adolescence reinforces the beliefs of French youth regarding the necessity of being bilingual, it teaches many English-speaking young people that they don't really need to know both languages in order to get along successfully in Canadian life.

A second trend of some interest is that older French youth were considerably less likely than their juniors to perceive religious background as important in these terms. On this, their evaluations fell off

TABLE I-8

AGE DIFFERENCES IN IMAGES OF CANADIAN OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE, by language spoken at home

Factor	Per cent who said each factor was very important in helping a young person get ahead in Canadian life[a]							
	English				French			
	13-14 (N=261)	15-16 (N=260)	17-18 (N=202)	19-20 (N=68)	13-14 (N=161)	15-16 (N=162)	17-18 (N=140)	19-20 (N=60)
(1) Get good grades in school	97	94	96	91	76	69	62	69
(2) Work hard	95	92	92	98	52	45	41	55
(3) Have a nice personality	88	86	82	81	63	71	65	79
(4) Get a university education	84	76	79	79	55	38	51	54
(5) Know the right people	56	43	52	50	50	46	53	57
(6) Be able to speak both French and English	44	40	35	29	69	74	78	82
(7) Come from the right family	28	23	18	24	32	23	32	22
(8) Come from the right religious group	14	7	12	10	50	31	27	18
(9) Be born in Canada	12	10	10	4	27	23	16	26
(10) Have parents with a lot of money	4	8	6	4	13	12	9	9

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

sharply from 50 per cent to 18 per cent. Coupled with the increasing propensity to cite the importance of linguistic skills, this would suggest that during the adolescent years French youth come to redefine the meaning and consequences of ethnicity in Canadian society. Among those just entering the teen-years, both religion and language were felt to have an effect on one's chances of success; for those entering their twenties, on the other hand, the relevance of ethnicity would seem to be interpreted much more exclusively in terms of language.

C. Orientations to the Present and the Past

> "All (societies) have their conceptions of the Past, the Present, and the Future. Where they differ is in the preferential ordering of the alternatives, and a very great deal can be told about the particular society or part of a society being studied and much can be predicted about the direction of change within it if one knows what the rank-order emphasis is."[5]

Next, two sets of reactions are examined which reflect young people's orientations regarding their country's ties with the present and the past. The first of these concerns attitudes about having a completely new national flag, while the second focuses more on cognitive than evaluative reactions by looking at the countries which young people named as Canada's best friends today.

In order to avoid references to specific symbolism, attitudes on the national flag issue were measured by asking young people whether, if they still had a choice, they would prefer a flag "which makes you think more of Canada's past history" or one which is "completely new." (Question

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[5]Florence R. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations. Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1961, p. 14.

1.) In response to this particular phrasing, young people from all three language groups answered in favour of a new flag, the pluralities being 10 per cent among English-speaking youth, 14 per cent among members of non-French minorities, and 23 per cent among the French (Table I-9). It is of some surprise, perhaps, that endorsements of the new flag were not highest of all among members of the smaller minorities, since an emblem symbolizing anything but the most recent Canadian history would tend to reflect Canada's primarily British and French heritage. Nonetheless, it was the French who most substantially rejected an historical emblem, although in their case it is not altogether clear whether this can be interpreted as rejection of <u>any</u> historical content, or rejection simply of the dominant British symbolism of former Canadian banners. At face value, however, the reactions of all three groups indicate support for contemporary rather than traditional symbols of Canadian nationhood. Young people also appeared to be quite highly involved in this issue since only 15 per cent of the French and 10 per cent of those in the other two groups indicated they didn't care one way or the other, and only tiny proportions said they didn't know.

Upon more detailed examination, it turned out that the overall response distributions on this question tended to mask important regional and age variations. With regard to region, Table I-10 indicates that the principal variations occurred among the English rather than the French, the responses of the two French-speaking groups being virtually identical. Among the English, however, the reactions of those from the Maritimes, Quebec and B. C. deviated substantially from the national average. Strongest support for a completely new flag came from the B. C. and Quebec English,

and by pluralities as large as 32 and 30 per cent, respectively. By contrast, the margins were only 11 per cent and 2 per cent among the Ontario and Prairie English, and young people from the Maritime provinces were 8 per cent more likely to prefer traditional symbolism. These results, then, indicate a considerable lack of consensus among English-speaking young people from different regions, and this outcome is particularly meaningful in view of the high levels of agreement they displayed on other perspectives regarding Canadian society.

TABLE I-9

FLAG PREFERENCES, by language spoken at home

Question 1. As you know, Canada now has a new flag. Some people still think we would be better off with a flag which makes you think more of Canada's past history, while other people like having a flag that is completely new. If you still had a choice, which type of flag would you like better?

Responses	English	French	Other
A flag which makes you think of Canada's past	38%[a]	29%	35%
A completely new flag	48	52	49
I'm not sure	5	3	5
I wouldn't care one way or the other	10	15	10
Total	101	100	99
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Among both language groups, moreover, support for traditional symbolism was much stronger among younger adolescents (Table I-11). This

TABLE I-10

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN FLAG PREFERENCES, by language spoken at home

Responses	Per cent giving different responses[a]						
	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Maritimes (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
A flag which makes you think of Canada's past	30	28	50	23	37	42	25
A completely new flag	52	51	42	53	48	44	57
I'm not sure	2	7	4	7	4	6	3
I wouldn't care one way or the other	16	14	4	16	11	8	15
Total	100	100	100	99	100	100	100

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

tendency was particularly prominent among the English, where the youngest group favoured a traditional emblem (by 7 per cent), while all three other groups favoured a new flag--and by margins increasing from 5 to 20 to 43 per cent. A similar trend may also be noted among the French, at least up to the age of seventeen or eighteen. In overview, then, historical representations of Canadian nationhood could very definitely be said to be more meaningful to younger adolescents than to those on the threshold of adulthood.

TABLE I-11

AGE DIFFERENCES IN FLAG PREFERENCES, by language spoken at home

Per cent giving different responses[a]				
A. English				
Preference	13-14 (N=261)	15-16 (N=260)	17-18 (N=202)	19-20 (N=68)
A flag which makes you think of Canada's past	47	40	32	20
A completely new flag	40	45	52	63
I'm not sure	5	4	4	8
I wouldn't care one way or the other	7	11	13	9
Total	99	100	101	100
B. French				
Preference	13-14 (N=161)	15-16 (N=162)	17-18 (N=140)	19-20 (N=60)
A flag which makes you think of Canada's past	33	30	29	25
A completely new flag	49	50	58	49
I'm not sure	4	1	6	2
I wouldn't care one way or the other	14	19	7	23
Total	100	100	100	99

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

A second indicator of young people's time perspectives regarding their society was in the countries they selected as Canada's best friends, the main issue here being whether they perceived Canada to be closer to the United States or to Britain (or France). These evaluations are reported in Tables I-12 through I-14.

Part B of Table I-12 indicates that a majority of the French youth and virtually all of the others included both the U.S. and the U.K. in their selections of Canada's three closest friends. The issue thus resolves into the question of which country was rated higher, and on this the results were strikingly clearcut: all three groups regarded Canada's closest ties to be with the United States, the margins being 36 per cent among the two groups of non-French, and 66 per cent among the French. Only 6 per cent of the French named Britain as closest friend, and interestingly, only 8 per cent named France. The main difference between the French and the other two groups, then, was in their greater propensity to omit Britain from their selections--although they were also more likely not to name any country at all. Rates of non-response on this question (Question 11) were 13 per cent among the French, but just 4 per cent and 2 per cent, respectively, among the English and "others." This would suggest that considerably more French found it difficult to think about Canada in terms of its ties with the outside world.

Another striking feature of these responses is that in total very few countries were nominated as best friends. Only 9 per cent of the French, 2 per cent of the English and 1 per cent of the "others" named any country other than the U.S. or Britain as Canada's closest friend, and only two other countries, France and Australia, were named at all

TABLE I-12

COUNTRIES NAMED AS CANADA'S BEST FRIENDS, by language spoken at home

Per cent who named each country[a]			
A. Best Friend			
Country	English	French	Other
United States	65	72	67
Great Britain	29	6	31
France	1	8	--
All other countries	1	1	1
No country names	4	13	2
Total	100	100	101
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)
B. Three Best Friends			
Country	English	French	Other
United States	94	84	98
Great Britain	89	58	98
France	33	64	35
Australia	18	1	10
Japan	7	4	2
All other countries	28	27	11
Total	269[b]	238	254
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

[b]Totals exceed 100 per cent because respondents asked to name three best friends. They do not total to 300 per cent because some did not name three countries.

by more than one person in ten from any group. Although not often selected as Canada's first friend, 64 per cent of the French and about a third in the other two groups did include France in their selections, while 18 per cent of the English youth included Australia.

Unlike attitudes on the flag question, these impressions were found to be remarkably stable among different age and regional groupings. Table I-13 indicates that young people from all parts of the country placed the U.S. ahead of the U.K. by a considerable margin, the tendency being strongest in the case of the two groups from Quebec, and slightly less pronounced, inexplicably, among English youth from the Prairies. For the most part, however, these results are more impressive in their similarity than their variation. On age, too, the responses varied only slightly among the different groups (Table I-14). The only meaningful age trends were that older youth were a little more likely to think of the U.S. as Canada's first friend, and a little less likely to leave the question unaswered.

In the main, it would appear that all groups of Canadian young people perceive their country more in terms of its North American roots than its European heritage. And to the extent that these reactions could be said to reflect orientations to the past, present or future, it could perhaps be concluded as well that they view their nation primarily from contemporary rather than traditional perspectives.

D. Orientations to Different Levels of Government

According to Piaget,[6] children beginning at the age of about ten or eleven are able to properly comprehend the notion of "country" in the

[6] Jean Piaget, "The Development in Children of the Idea of the Homeland and of Relations with Other Countries," International Social Science Bulletin, Vol. 3, 1951, pp. 561-71.

TABLE I-13

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN COUNTRIES NAMED AS CANADA'S BEST FRIENDS, by language spoken at home

Countries	Per cent who named each country[a]						
	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Maritimes (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
A. Canada's Best Friend							
United States	73	66	68	72	63	62	69
Great Britain	4	12	28	21	29	32	27
France	9	4	--	2	1	1	1
All other countries	2	1	2	--	1	--	1
No country named	12	16	2	4	6	4	2
Total	100	99	100	99	100	99	100
B. Canada's Three Best Friends							
United States	85	82	98	95	93	93	95
Great Britain	55	73	89	93	87	92	91
France	64	61	36	58	29	31	35
All other countries	35	17	47	25	51	48	49
Total	239[b]	233	270	271	260	264	270

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

[b]Totals exceed 100 per cent because respondents asked to name three best friends. They do not total to 300 per cent because some persons did not name three countries.

TABLE I-14

AGE DIFFERENCES IN COUNTRIES NAMED AS CANADA'S BEST FRIENDS, by language spoken at home

Countries	Per cent who named each country[a]							
	English				French			
	13-14 (N=261)	15-16 (N=260)	17-18 (N=202)	19-20 (N=68)	13-14 (N=161)	15-16 (N=162)	17-18 (N=140)	19-20 (N=60)
A. Best Friend								
United States	64	64	65	69	63	75	73	75
Great Britain	29	30	29	28	6	5	5	9
France	1	1	1	--	12	6	10	3
All other countries	1	--	2	2	(.3)	3	1	1
No country named	5	6	3	(.4)	19	10	11	12
Total	100	101	100	99	100	99	100	100
B. Three Best Friends								
United States	93	93	95	98	79	88	86	83
Great Britain	87	89	92	92	53	60	54	71
France	32	34	36	24	59	68	63	66
All other countries	50	44	46	65	29	32	34	31
Total	262[b]	260	269	277	219	248	237	251

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

[b]Totals exceed 100 per cent because respondents asked to name three best friends. They do not total to 300 per cent because some persons did not name three countries.

sense of understanding the territorial relationships between a country as a whole and the various administrative units which may function within it--towns, cities, provinces, cantons, states, regions and the like. In a study of Canadian thirteen- to twenty-year olds, then, it is not at all fanciful to inquire as to attitudes regarding different levels of government in the Canadian federal system. The main focus in this section concerns how young people assess the effectiveness of their federal, provincial and local governments in serving the needs of the Canadian people. These evaluations were measured in relative rather than absolute terms, the respondents being asked which government they felt did "most" and "least" for people (Questions 15 and 16). In addition, they were also asked which one they thought would be best to work for--providing the remuneration from each were the same (Question 17).

Even though these questions avoided reference to specific administrations, political parties, or national, provincial or municipal leaders, it is inevitable that in answering them some young people would have thought about the particular parties or individuals in power at the time. These results, therefore, cannot be represented as necessarily enduring orientations regarding government; there is no guarantee that the ratings would have been the same had other parties or persons been in office during the summer of 1965.

While only limited interpretations can be made from these responses when considered as national totals, Table I-15 does indicate a number of points of similarity and difference in the reactions of the three language groups. Considering the balance between positive and negative assessments in Parts A and B of the table, for example, the following tendencies may be

TABLE I-15

ORIENTATION TO DIFFERENT LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT, by language spoken at home

Response	English	French	Other
A. Question 15. Which government would you say does the most for people?			
The government of your city, town or township	23%[a]	23%	37%
The government of your province	33	40	39
The government of Canada	32	22	22
I'm not sure	13	15	2
Total	101	100	100
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)
B. Question 16. Which one would you say does the least for people			
The government of your city, town or township	30%[a]	21%	14%
The government of your province	12	13	19
The government of Canada	26	34	25
I'm not sure	31	32	42
Total	99	100	100
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)
C. Question 17. Which government would be best to work for--if the salary was the same on each job?			
The government of your city, town or township	28%	27%	27%
The government of your province	22	34	19
The government of Canada	39	28	38
I'm not sure	11	11	16
Total	100	100	100
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

noted: first, members of all three groups rated their provincial governments much more positively than negatively, the percentage margins being +27 among the French, +21 among the English and +20 among those in the third group; secondly, only English-speaking youth made an overall positive appraisal of the Federal government, the scores in this case being +6, -3 and -12, respectively, among the English, "others" and French; and thirdly, young people speaking languages other than English or French gave by far the most positive assessments to the role of municipal government, their net balance between positive and negative ratings being +27 compared with +2 and -7 for the French and English.

In overview, then, all three groups made strongly positive assessments of the effectiveness of their provincial governments in doing things for people, members of the smaller ethnic minorities rated local governments strongly, and no group at all made a relatively strong evaluation of the national government. These results indicate a decidely provincial orientation in young people's thinking about public administration.

At the same time, however, the Federal government fared much better when rated as an employer. Part C of Table I-15 indicates that all three groups rated it more strongly on this criterion than on the other, and that both groups of non-French youth rated it highest on this score. These same two groups also rated their provincial governments lowest on this criterion, thus indicating that the governments they saw as most effective in serving people's interests were the ones they thought least attractive to work for. This reversal is especially curious in view of the fact that the employment question stated quite clearly that the salaries from each job would be the same. In effect, then, these youth used quite different criteria when

evaluating an administration's service to the community and its employment potential. They regarded as the best employer one which they also regarded as relatively ineffective at doing its job.

French-speaking youth, by comparison, were much more consistent in their ratings on these two dimensions. For them, provincial governments were ranked first both in serving people's interests and as potential employers.

Although it would be highly instructive to examine the reactions of young people living in specific localities, the small number of individuals sampled in most cities and towns precludes this level of analysis. Regional variations, however, are displayed in Figure I-1. The rationale for this particular mode of presentation is that strictly by chance alone we would expect each level of government to be named both positively and negatively by one-third of the respondents. Figure I-1 thus summarizes the ratings so as to highlight the extent to which they deviated from random expectation. Here, the direction of the bars to the right or left of the center line indicates either a positive or negative balance, while the length of the bar reflects the strength of departure from chance expectancy.[7]

These data point to a number of important regional discrepancies in young people's perspectives regarding government. First, comparing the

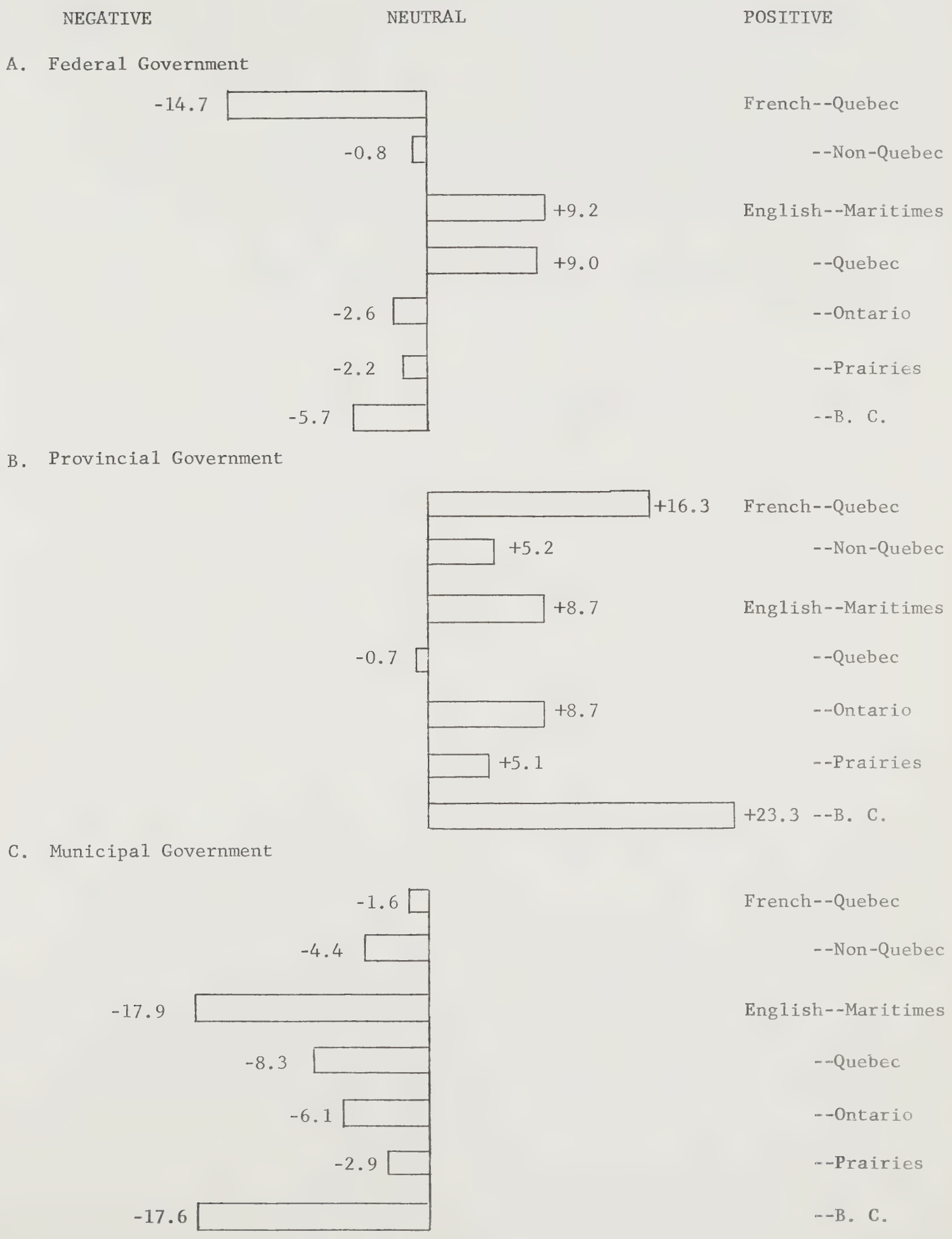
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[7]The actual measures were computed by the following formula: (per cent positive assessments - 33.3 per cent) + (33.3 per cent - per cent negative assessments) divided by 2. Signs were taken into account and percentages were computed only for those persons who gave substantive answers to the questions. These measures have a zero-sum property, meaning that any imbalance in one direction must be matched by an imbalance of equal size in the opposite direction.

Figure I-1

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN ORIENTATION TO DIFFERENT LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT, by language spoken at home

Direction and Strength of Orientation



two French-speaking groups, it is clear that those from Quebec held much more positive views of their provincial government, and much more negative ones of the Federal government, than did their counterparts living in other provinces. The Quebec-French show a very strong provincial emphasis in their evaluation of government, their tendency in this direction being balanced by negative assessments directed primarily at Ottawa rather than at local administrations. By contrast the Quebec-French appear to have no particularly strong feelings about any level of government. Their reactions are all close to what would be expected strictly from random allotment.

Interestingly, the B. C. English showed an even stronger propensity than the Quebec-French to concentrate their positive ratings at the provincial level, their assessments deviating 23.3 points above chance expectancy compared with 16.3 points for the French. Although both groups thus displayed strong provincial sentiments, their patterns of negative response were quite dissimilar: among the Quebec-French these were directed principally at the Federal government while among the B. C. English they clustered heavily at the local level. In other words, the provincialism of the Quebec French was accompanied by strongly negative dispositions regarding the Federal administration while that of the B. C. group was not.

Figure I-1 also indicates that all groups except the Quebec-English rated provincial governments to the positive side of the ledger. As might have been anticipated, then, the perspectives of the English- and French-speaking youth from Quebec were radically different on this point. Although showing less consensus in their views, the Quebec-English quite clearly perceived their primary source of support as emanating from Ottawa.

Besides the Quebec-English, only those from the Maritime provinces rated the national government more positively than negatively, the reactions of both groups falling approximately 9 points above chance expectancy. Unlike their Quebec neighbors, however, the Maritimers also made positive assessments of their provincial administrations, and while both groups gave their most negative ratings to local government, it was the Maritimers who did so to the much greater degree. For the Maritime-English, then, Federal support would seem to emerge primarily as a reaction to local inertia; for the Quebec-English it would appear to stem from a relatively low level of confidence in both local and provincial administrations.

Finally, Figure I-1 indicates that all groups rated the functions of municipal government relatively low. Since in a zero-sum statistic all deviations must be balanced, it is difficult to assess whether these particular ratings reflect genuinely negative sentiment or whether they emerge primarily because provincial administrations were rated so highly. The most reasonable interpretation, perhaps, is that they are based more on influences of the latter type than of the former.

Apart from the pronounced provincial orientation reflected in the ratings of the B. C. English, these results could be said to conform pretty much to expectation. Among English-speaking youth, the regional differences are for the most part highly plausible, and the reactions of the Quebec-French are not at all out of line with what might have been predicted. In the main, then, young people from the different regions seem to share the same kinds of perspectives as their elders regarding the structure of public administration in Canadian society.

Figure I-2, finally, compares the evaluations of English and French young people in the four age-groups. These results indicate sharp changes of perspective with age, the older groups giving progressively higher positive ratings to their provincial governments. These trends are continuous among both language groups, and among the French they are accompanied by a fairly consistent increment in negative dispositions regarding the Federal government.

These findings are important. They suggest that it is during the adolescent years that Canadian young people become aware of the salience of sectional, regional and provincial interests in Canadian life, this awareness in turn being translated into beliefs regarding the viability of provincial governments in serving the needs of Canadians. If then, as Piaget suggests, the first ten or eleven years of life are characterized by a clearly marked process of widening perspectives regarding the homeland, "starting from motives essentially bound up with subjective or personal impressions and progressing toward acceptance of the values common to the group, first to the family group and then society as a whole,"[8] then the adolescent yerars, at least for Canadian young people, could be characterized as the period of emergent sectionalism.

E. Perceived Distinctiveness of the Canadian People, and of the Two Main Canadian Subgroups

The final section of this chapter looks at young people's impressions of the Canadian people both from the perspective of an undifferentiated collectivity and as one containing two major subgroupings. The

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[8]Piaget, op. cit., p. 566.

Figure I-2

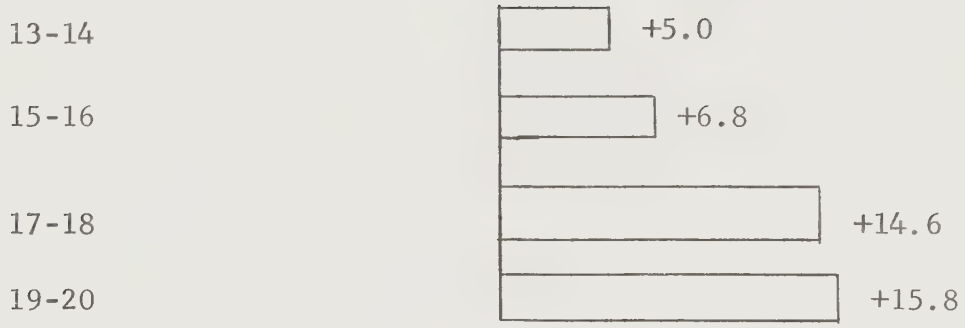
AGE DIFFERENCES IN ORIENTATION TO DIFFERENT LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT, by language spoken at home

Direction and Strength of Orientation

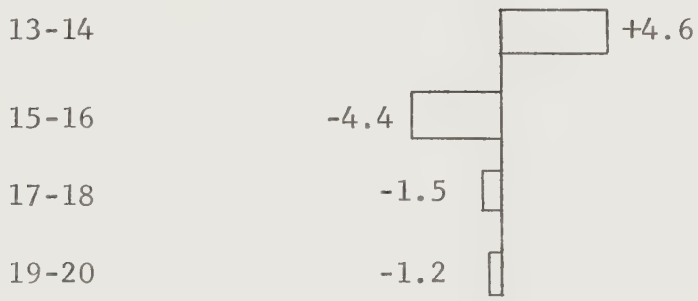
NEGATIVE NEUTRAL POSITIVE

A. English Youth

(i) Provincial government



(ii) Federal government



(iii) Municipal government

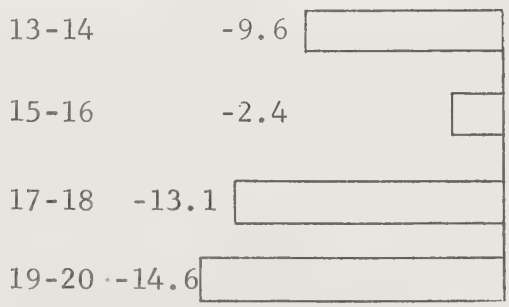
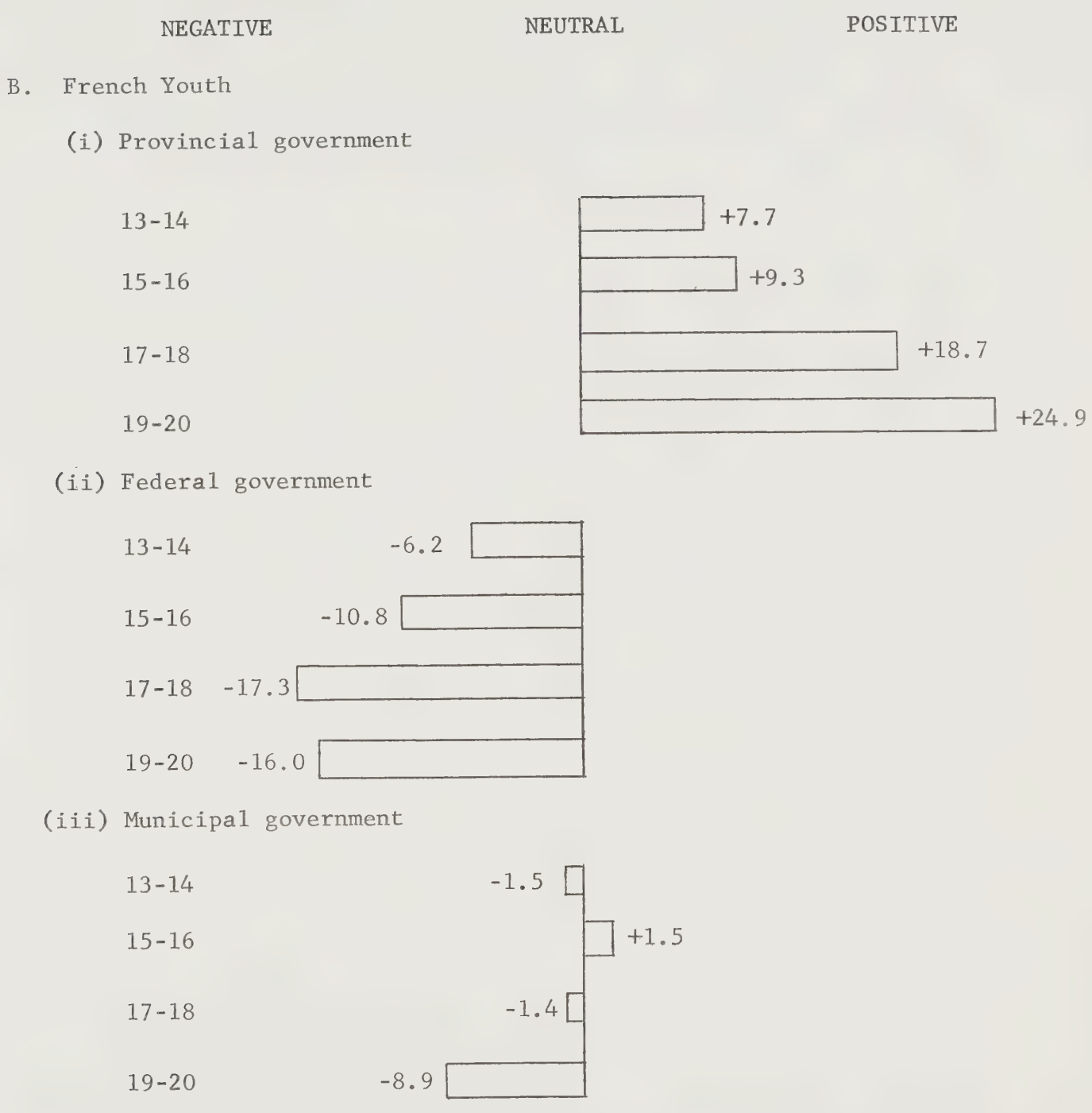


Figure I-2--(Continued)

Direction and Strength of Orientation



discussion centers first on areas of perceived similarity and difference between, on the one hand, Canadians and Americans, and on the other, English- and French-speaking Canadians. Following this, it then focuses directly on the triangle of relationships between English-Canadians, French-Canadians and Americans by reviewing young people's impressions as to which pairs of groups share the larger number of things in common with one another.

Considered broadly, this section deals with themes which might well be discussed under the labels "national identity" and "national solidarity." To the extent that the concept of national identity can be defined in terms of the collectivities a person associates himself with and differentiates himself from, the analysis could indeed be said to explore young people's identity both as Canadians and as "hyphenated-Canadians." And to the extent that the solidarity of any group--a family, organization, community or nation--is reflected in the degree to which its members share more things in common with one another than they do with outsiders, then it also explores the social cohesiveness of the national community of Canadian young people.

(i) Canadians and Americans

To what extent and in what kinds of ways do Canadian young people think of the themselves as collectively distinct? To get at these impressions, respondents were asked to compare themselves with Americans on eleven specific traits and characteristics, and in addition to make an overall judgment as to whether Canadians and Americans were, in most respects, alike or different (Questions 12 and 13). In selecting characteristics for comparison, an attempt was made to reflect the kinds of

things young people commonly say about themselves and about Americans, and at the same time to cover features relating to a number of different dimensions--personality traits of the two peoples, tastes, and life-style preferences, characteristics of the social and institutional structure of the two countries, and most importantly, basic underlying values about life.

When asked for a global assessment, most Canadian young people viewed themselves, collectively, as more similar to than distinct from Americans. English youth and members of the non-French minorities shared a high degree of consensus about this, with 79 and 75 per cent, respectively, perceiving basic commonalities between the two peoples. (See Table I-16.) French-speaking youth held these views much more tentatively, although a majority (56 per cent) did perceive commonalities as overriding differences. These levels of response are somewhat difficult to interpret in isolation, but they suggest at the very least that Canadian young people's sense of national distinctiveness does not derive its shape on the basis of fundamental contrasts with Americans.

The international comparisons on specific features are reviewed in Figure I-3. These results are once again represented in graphic form so as to highlight only dominant imagery,[9] and are ordered beginning with areas of highest overall consensus regarding Canadian-American similarity.

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[9] In this and other charts presented in this section, the figures represent the percentage discrepancies between those saying Canadians and Americans were "definitely alike" and "definitely different." These percentages were based on the responses of the total group rather than just those who gave substantive assessments.

This chart shows prominent imagery in both directions, and also illustrates a number of features on which members of the three groups held different views.

TABLE I-16

PERCEIVED SIMILARITY BETWEEN CANADIANS AND AMERICANS,
by language spoken at home

Question 12. Some people think that Canadians and Americans are very much alike, while others think they are very different. What would you say?

Response	English	French	Other
Alike in most ways	79%[a]	56%	75%
Different in most ways	18	37	25
I'm not sure	3	7	--
Total	100	100	100
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

First, let us review the content of these ratings. The first three entries on the chart all represent the area of tastes or life-style qualities, and all reflect exceedingly high levels of consensus as to Canadian-American similarity. At the same time, however, the three groups did not share these views to the same degree. Virtually no English youth or members of the smaller minorities saw anything particularly distinctive about Canadian food, musical tastes, or grooming styles and manners of dress, but a sizeable minority of French youth did.

Figure I-3

WAYS IN WHICH CANADIANS AND AMERICANS ARE PERCEIVED AS SIMILAR AND DIFFERENT, by language spoken at home

Direction and Strength of Image

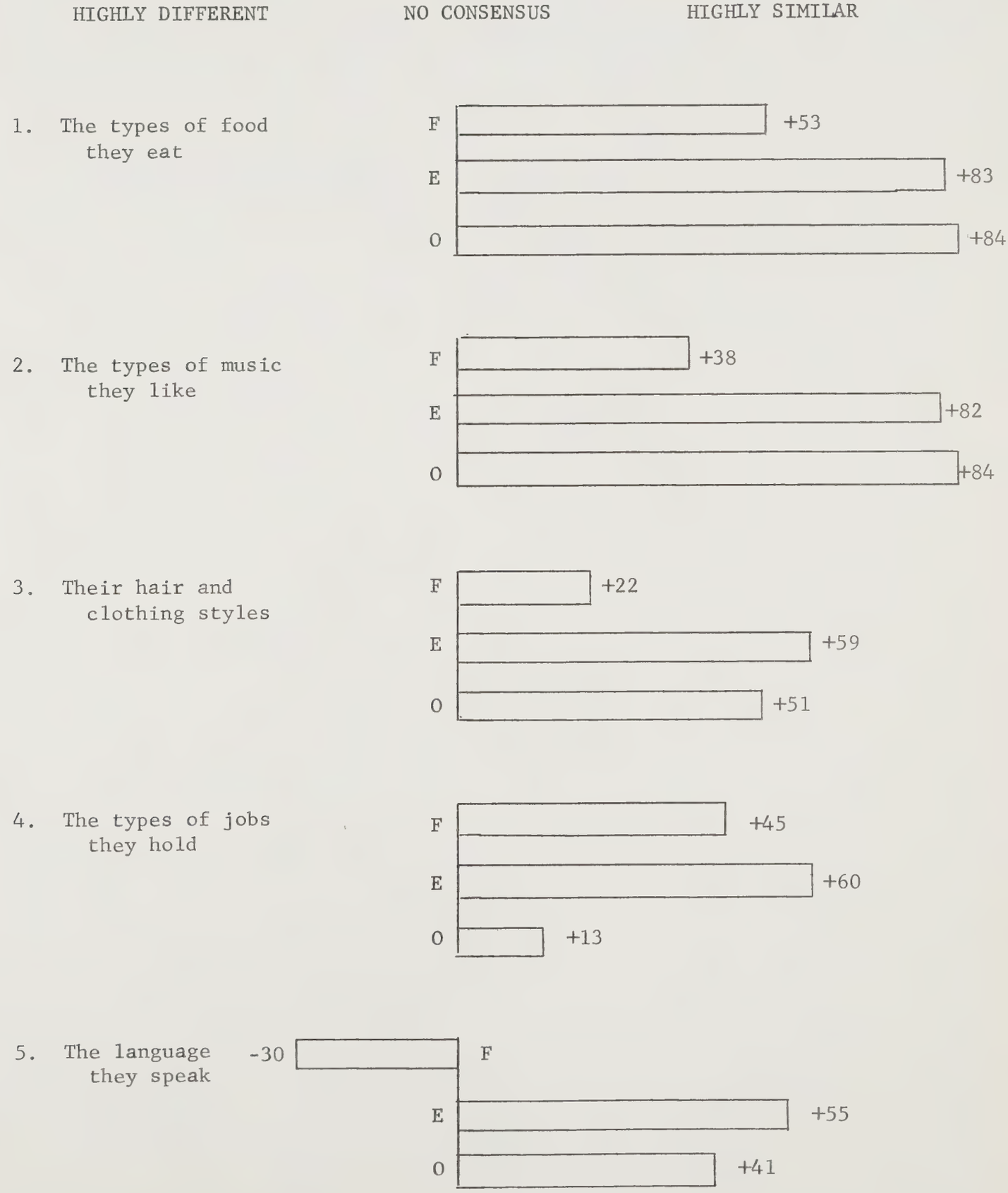
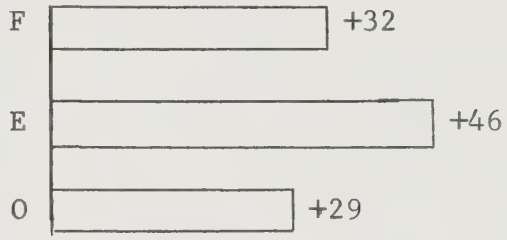


Figure I-3--(Continued)

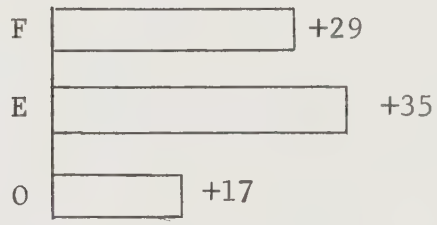
Direction and Strength of Image

HIGHLY DIFFERENT NO CONSENSUS HIGHLY SIMILAR

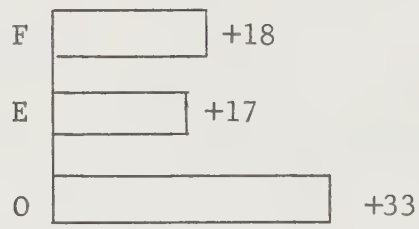
6. The importance they attach to having a good time



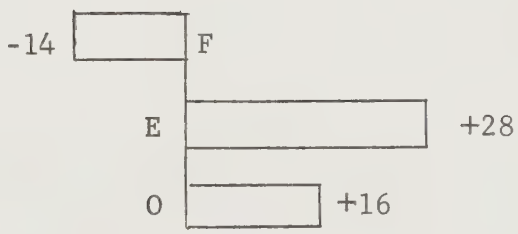
7. The importance they attach to making a lot of money



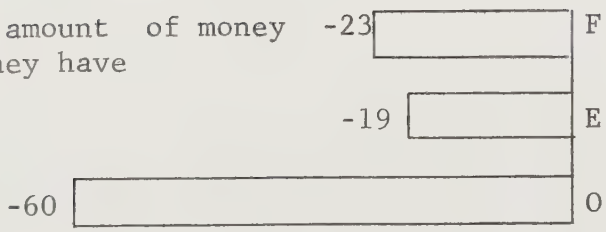
8. Their friendliness to strangers



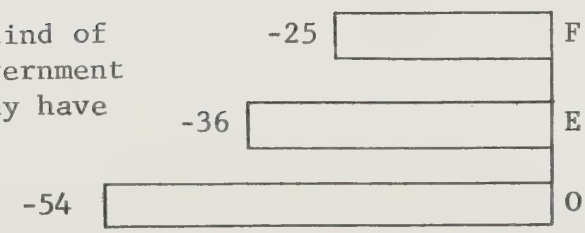
9. The importance they attach to religion



10. The amount of money they have



11. The kind of government they have



One could conclude, therefore, that French youth were at least relatively more sensitive to distinctively Canadian tastes and styles.

Next, consensus was also fairly high that Canadians and Americans work at similar types of jobs, although here members of the third group made much more tentative judgments than either the French or English. For the most part, however, young people did not recognize a distinctively Canadian occupational structure.

With regard to language, French youth as expected recognized the distinctiveness of the two peoples much more frequently than others did. This outcome also suggests that in answering these questions English- and French-speaking young people tended to base their thinking about the Canadian people as a whole pretty much in terms of characteristics of their own cultural group. By the same token, members of the third group would appear to have defined "the Canadian people" in terms of predominantly English-Canadian characteristics.

The sixth and seventh features listed both pertain to the general realm of values--the importance attached to economic achievement and to enjoying life. Both sets of ratings illustrate moderately high consensus as to Canadian-American similarity although levels of consensus on both points tended to be higher among English-youth and lower among "others." These findings are perhaps a little surprising in that, along with "friendliness to strangers," these features are often the object of stereotypes regarding Canadian-American differences--Americans being often characterized as more motivated toward the acquisition of wealth, and as more gregarious and extroverted, and Canadians (or at least English-Canadians) usually being stereotyped as more serious about life, more conservative and more

reserved in establishing social relationships. In the main, however, young people would appear not to reflect these stereotypes.

Members of the three language groups also differed markedly in the assessments they made regarding the importance Canadians and Americans attach to religion. For the French, the two peoples were felt to place a quite different stress on these matters, while for the English and "others" the emphasis was viewed as basically similar. From the point of view of French youth, then, both language and religiosity were identified as distinctively Canadian features; in the eyes of other young people, they were not.

All in all, then, there were just two characteristics out of the eleven on which all three groups agreed that Canadians and Americans were definitely different: they agreed to differences in economic wealth and in the form of government of the two countries--consensus being higher on the latter point than the former. Although these results are hardly surprising, it is interesting that the two peoples were perceived as different when rated on actual wealth, but similar when rated on the importance they attach to making money.

In summary, then, these responses indicate relatively few areas on which Canadians were seen as distinct from Americans, the only marked and commonly shared distinctions being on their economic well-being and on the basic structure of their governments. At the same time, however, French youth tended to see more of these features as distinctively Canadian. In addition to wealth and form of government, they rated language and religious emphasis as distinct, and were much more likely than their compatriots to perceive distinctions in the area of tastes and styles.

Finally, age and regional variations on the global comparisons are reviewed in Figure 1-4. Considering region first, the results indicate little variation of perspective among English-speaking youth from the different regions, but rather marked differences between the two groups of French. All five groups of English youth viewed Canadians and Americans to be highly similar and to about the same degree, but the Quebec-French saw considerably more areas of national difference than did French youth from other provinces. The non-Quebec French, in short, tended to view Canadians as more Americanized, and in this respect came somewhat closer to the views held by English-speaking youth.

With regard to age, the results indicate a slight tendency for older youth to see more areas of national distinctiveness. These trends are neither pronounced nor linear, however, and as such do not warrant any definite conclusions regarding age changes in perspective.

(ii) English-Canadians and French-Canadians

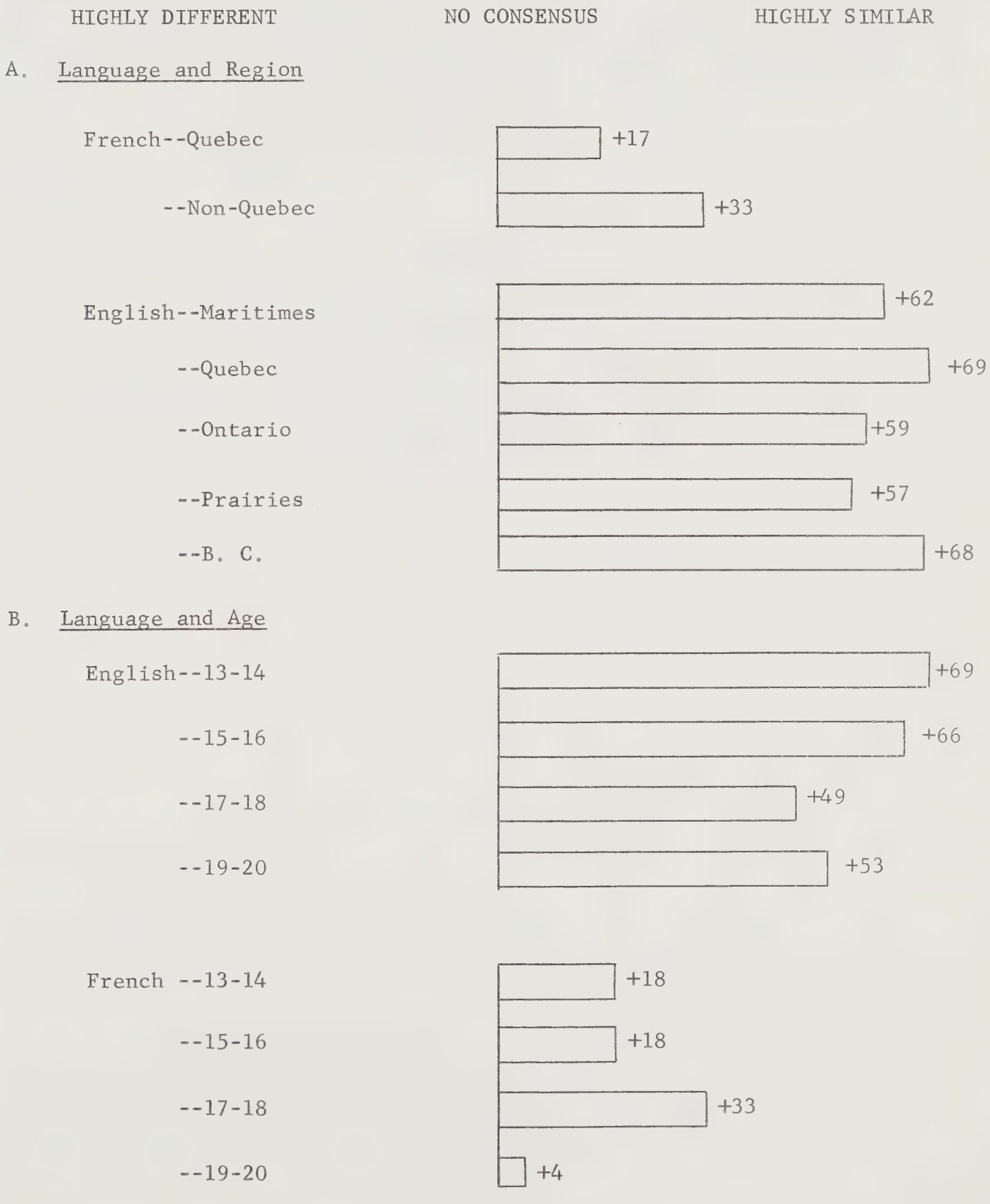
Further along in the questionnaire, respondents were asked to make similar judgments for English- and French-Canadians (Questions 25 and 26). These evaluations, while interesting in their own right, take on added significance when interpreted in conjunction with the Canadian-American comparisons.

On overall assessments as to similarity, all three groups rated the English and French as more alike than different, but the two non-French groups did so only marginally. (See Table I-17.) Whereas 79 per cent of the English rated Canadians and Americans as alike, only 50 per cent made a similar appraisal regarding the French and English in Canada, and for

FIGURE I-4

REGIONAL VARIATIONS AND AGE DIFFERENCES IN PERCEIVED SIMILARITY OF CANADIANS AND AMERICANS, by language spoken at home

Direction and Strength of Image



members of the non-French minorities the discrepancy was even wider--75 per cent compared with 42 per cent. These two groups, then, perceived considerably more vertical than horizontal commonality. The two sets of ratings were much more similar among French youth, although they too failed to perceive the two Canadian groups as the more similar (54 per cent compared with 56 per cent). Of the three groups of raters, however, it was the French who most often saw English- and French-Canadians as alike, and Americans and Canadians as different.

TABLE I-17

PERCEIVED SIMILARITY BETWEEN ENGLISH-SPEAKING AND FRENCH-SPEAKING CANADIANS, by language spoken at home

Question 25. On the whole, would you say that English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians are pretty much alike or pretty much different?

Response	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
Alike in most ways	50%[a]	54%	42%
Different in most ways	41	38	40
I'm not sure	10	8	18
Total	101	100	100

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Comparisons on specific characteristics are presented in Figure I-5. Here, of twelve points of comparison, eight were rated by a majority as areas of similarity and four as areas of difference. First, on the similarities, all groups shared high consensus as to English-French similarity in food habits, economic motivation and types of employment, the

Figure I-5

WAYS IN WHICH ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADIANS AND FRENCH-SPEAKING CANADIANS ARE PERCEIVED AS SIMILAR AND DIFFERENT, by language spoken at home

Direction and Strength of Image

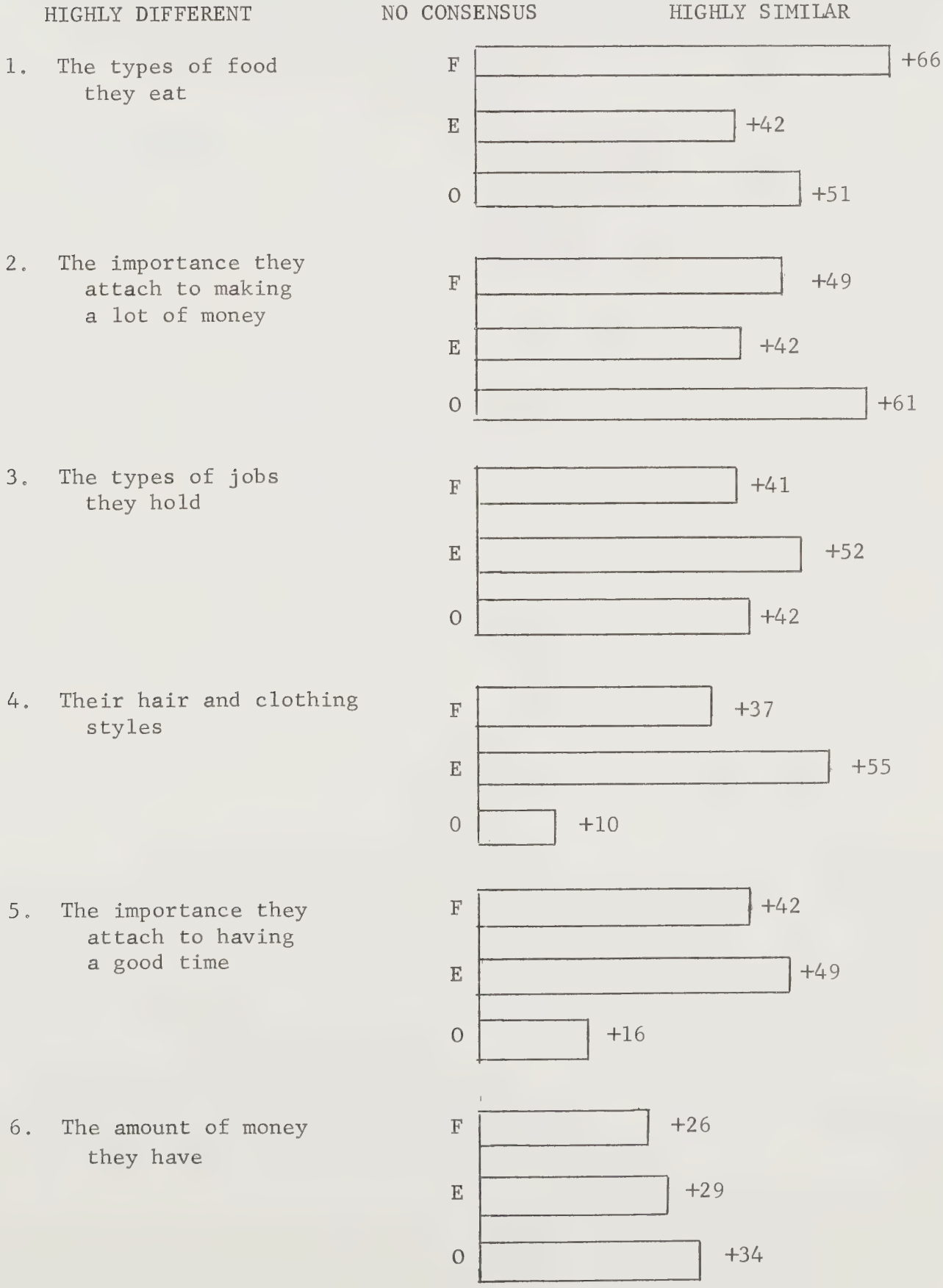
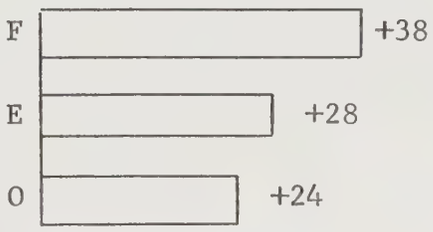


Figure I-5-(Continued)

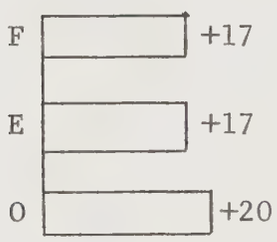
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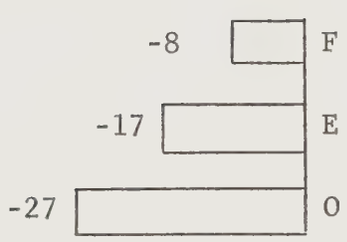
7. The types of music they like



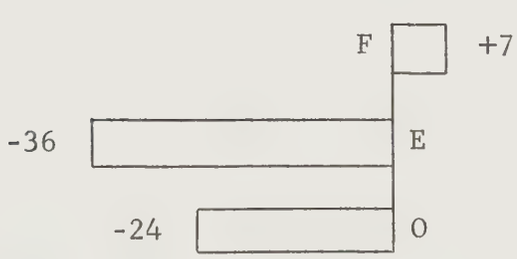
8. Their friendliness to strangers



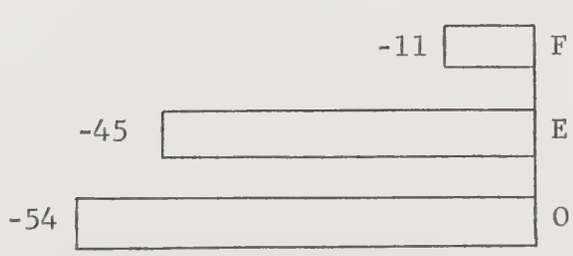
9. The importance they attach to religion



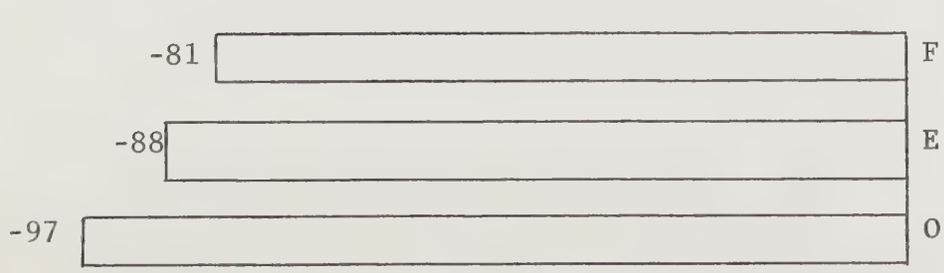
10. The type of country they want Canada to be in the future



11. The kind of government they want Canada to have



12. The language they speak



pluralities in no case falling below 41 per cent. There was no consistent pattern to these three sets of ratings, however, consensus being highest among the French on food, among the "others" on economic motivation, and among the English on types of jobs held. The three groups also perceived more similarity than difference in hair and clothing styles, but in this case they did so in differing degrees. Consensus here was much higher among the English, and was lowest by a considerable margin among members of the third group. A similar pattern was also found on images of the importance attached to having a good time--the English showing slightly higher consensus than the French, and the "others" being most likely to perceive intergroup differences. Finally, on the dimensions of wealth, music taste and friendliness to strangers, all three groups made moderately high appraisals as to English-French similarity, their ratings on the whole being more alike than unalike.

Turning now to the differences, all groups felt, first, that English- and French-Canadians place a different emphasis on religion, levels of consensus on this being highest among the "others" and lowest among the French. The more interesting differences, however, were on the statements reflecting national goals for Canada--"the kind of government they want Canada to have" and "the type of country they want Canada to be in the future." Here the perspectives of the three groups differed quite markedly. On both dimensions, English young people and those from the smaller minorities saw the two groups as oriented in quite different directions, while French youth were much more evenly divided in their opinions. On goals for Canada as a country, the English were 36 per cent more likely to see the two groups as wanting different things, while the French were 7 per cent

more likely to view English and French goals as similar. And while the French did admit to intergroup differences of opinion on government, they did so by a margin of just 11 per cent--compared with 45 per cent among the English and 54 per cent among the "others."

These results are important even though they do not indicate specific points of perceived disagreement. They suggest that while English- and French-Canadians are seen to share many things in common, the points on which they are seen to differ are far from superficial ones.

Finally, Figures I-5 shows that virtually all young people recognized that English- and French-Canadians speak different languages, an outcome which if different would have jeopardized the credibility of the other responses.

Variations by region and age are again presented only in relation to the overall assessments. (See Figure I-6.) Here prominent regional discrepancies may be noted in the responses of both groups. Among the English there is a clearcut though slightly uneven tendency toward higher levels of perceived discrepancy among those living further westward: whereas Maritime youth were 30 per cent more likely to perceive similarities than differences, the groups were rated as more dissimilar than alike at all points west of Ontario. Western English thus felt they had less in common with French-Canadians than did their counterparts living in Central Canada, who in turn saw fewer commonalities than did young people from the Maritimes. Among the French, the two regional groups again gave radically different appraisals. Consensus as to English-French similarity was highest of all among French youth living outside of Quebec, and by contrast the Quebec-French held views more similar to those of the Quebec-English than to those of the non-Quebec

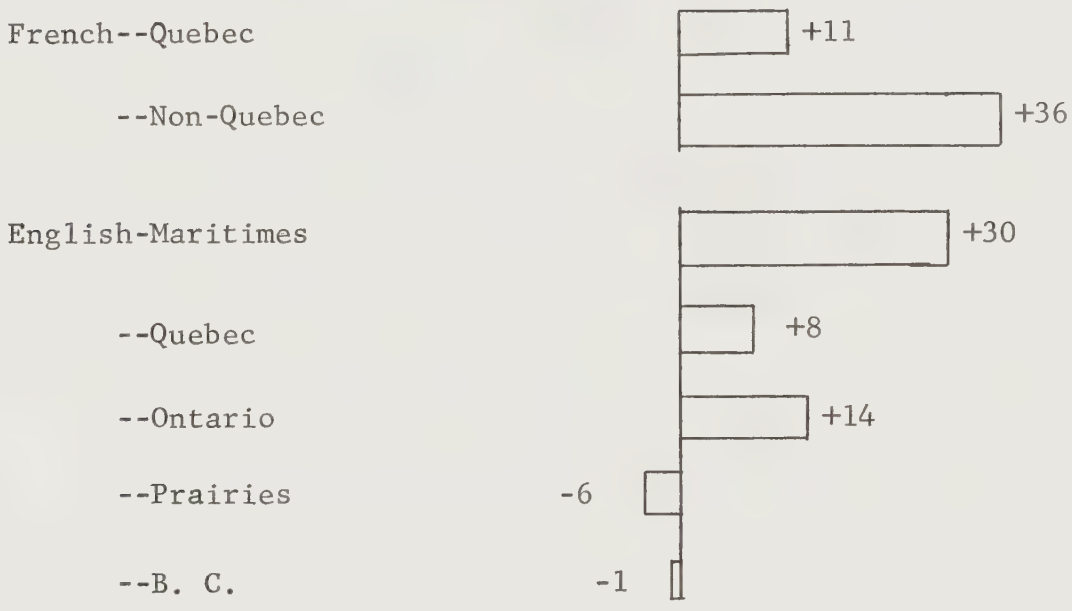
Figure I-6

REGIONAL VARIATIONS AND AGE DIFFERENCES IN PERCEIVED SIMILARITY OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING AND FRENCH-SPEAKING CANADIANS, by language spoken at home

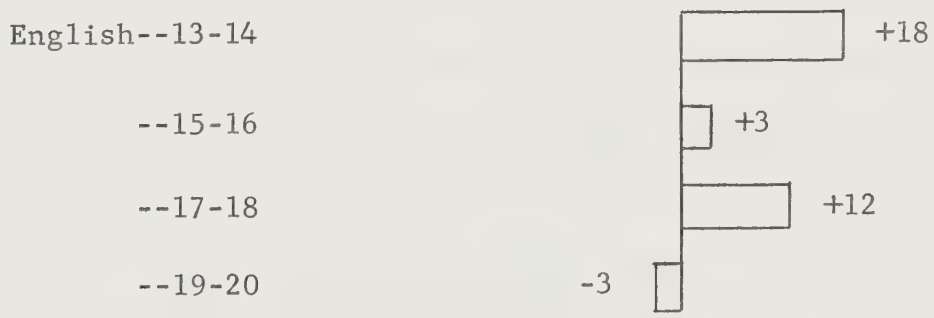
Direction and Strength of Image

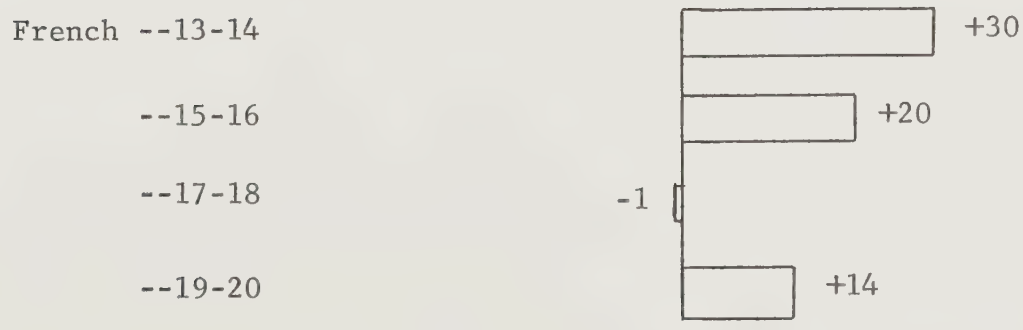
HIGHLY DIFFERENT NO CONSENSUS HIGHLY SIMILAR

A. Language and Region



B. Language and Age





French. On this issue, in short, regional perspectives could probably be said to override ethnic ones.

The findings with regard to age are once again inconclusive, although among both groups consensus as to similarity was highest among the thirteen- and fourteen-year-olds, and lowest among either the oldest group or the second-oldest. This suggests at least mild support for the generalization that as Canadian young people pass through adolescence they become more sensitive to ethnic differences.

(iii) Interethnic ties versus ties over the border

In addition to these separate evaluations, respondents were also asked directly which pairs of groups they thought shared more in common. These questions were phrased as follows:

> (Question 14) Who would you say have more in common--English-speaking Canadians and Americans or English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians?
>
> (Question 27) Who have more in common--French-Canadians and Americans or French-Canadians and English-Canadians?

In effect, then, both English and French young people were asked (a) to rate the strength of their interethnic ties within Canada against their ties south of the border, and (b) to make a similar assessment from the point of view of the other group.

The responses elicited by these questions are reported in Table I-18, and indicate sharp differences of perspective among the three groups. The key finding here is that many more English-speaking young people felt closer ties to Americans than to French-Canadians. Although already suggested by the responses to previous questions, this tendency is brought into sharp focus here: when confronted with a forced-choice situation, better

than two-thirds of the English youth said they had more in common with Americans and only one in five identified himself with French-Canadians. Members of the third group, moreover, strongly agreed with this appraisal, and in fact stated it even more sharply: the "others" were 60 per cent more likely to identify English-Canadians with Americans than with French-Canadians, the English themselves doing so by a margin of just 48 per cent.

French views on this were considerably different. Although more agreed with the appraisal than disagreed with it, they identified English-Canadians' ties to be with the French just 2 per cent less often than with Americans.

TABLE I-18

PERCEPTION OF CLOSENESS OF TIES BETWEEN ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADIANS, FRENCH-SPEAKING CANADIANS AND AMERICANS, by language spoken at home

A. Question 14. Who would you say have more in common--English-speaking Canadians and Americans or English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians?

Responses	English	French	Other
English-speaking Canadians and Americans	68%[a]	41%	69%
English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians	20	39	9
I'm not sure	12	20	22
Total	100	100	100
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)

B. Question 27. Who have more in common--French-Canadians and Americans or French-Canadians and English-Canadians?

French-Canadians and Americans	8%[a]	21%	10%
French-Canadians and English-Canadians ..	70	60	63
I'm not sure	21	19	27
Total	99	100	100
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Part B of the table illustrates the high degree of social-psychological imbalance in these appraisals. French young people felt they had more in common with English-Canadians than with Americans, and by a margin as great as 39 per cent. Moreover, this view was also held strongly by the other groups, and in particular by the English.

Together, then, these reactions describe a grossly imbalanced set of relationships. The social orientation of English-speaking young people crosses national lines much more frequently than ethnic lines, while that of the French is exactly the reverse. The most interesting feature here, perhaps, is that this situation seemed to be fairly clear to everyone. It was obvious to the English and to members of the non-French minorities, and even the French recognized it more often than not. The French did tend to overestimate the ties English-Canadians felt toward them, and this can perhaps be interpreted as a reaction to the uncomfortable situation of identifying attachments which are not reciprocated.

In any event, the results suggest a severe gap in the social-psychological base for intergroup solidarity among Canadian young people. And while it would be foolish to suggest specific implications of this type of imbalance, it should be clear enough that a tendency to identify stronger social ties outside the national borders than within it could become extremely significant in situations of either individual or collective cross-pressure.

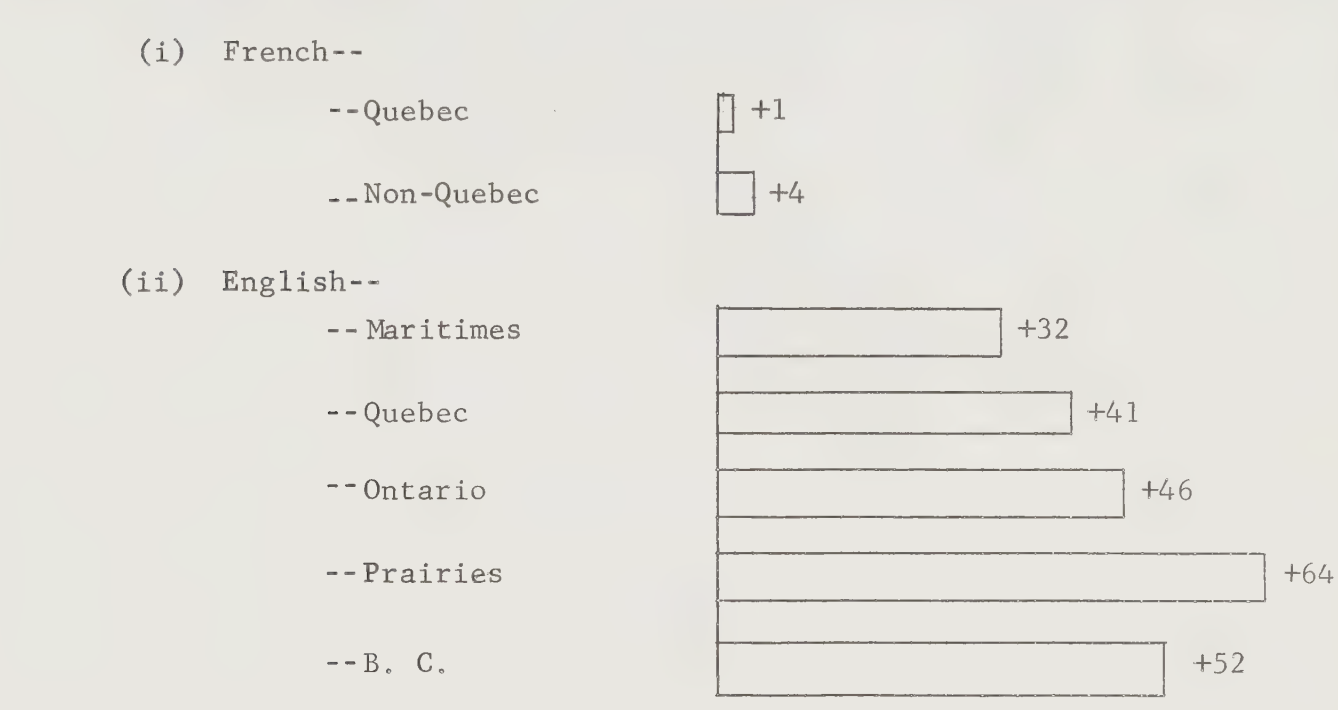
To conclude the chapter, regional and age variations in these evaluations are reviewed in Figures I-7 and I-8. As with the ratings of French-English commonalities, English youth from the western regions showed a marked tendency to less often identify themselves with the French. In the forced-choice situation, moreover, even the Maritime English more often

Figure I-7

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN PERCEPTION OF CLOSENESS OF TIES BETWEEN ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADIANS, FRENCH-SPEAKING CANADIANS AND AMERICANS, by language spoken at home

Direction and Strength of Image

A. English-speaking Canadians have more in common with . . .



B. French-speaking Canadians have more in common with . . .

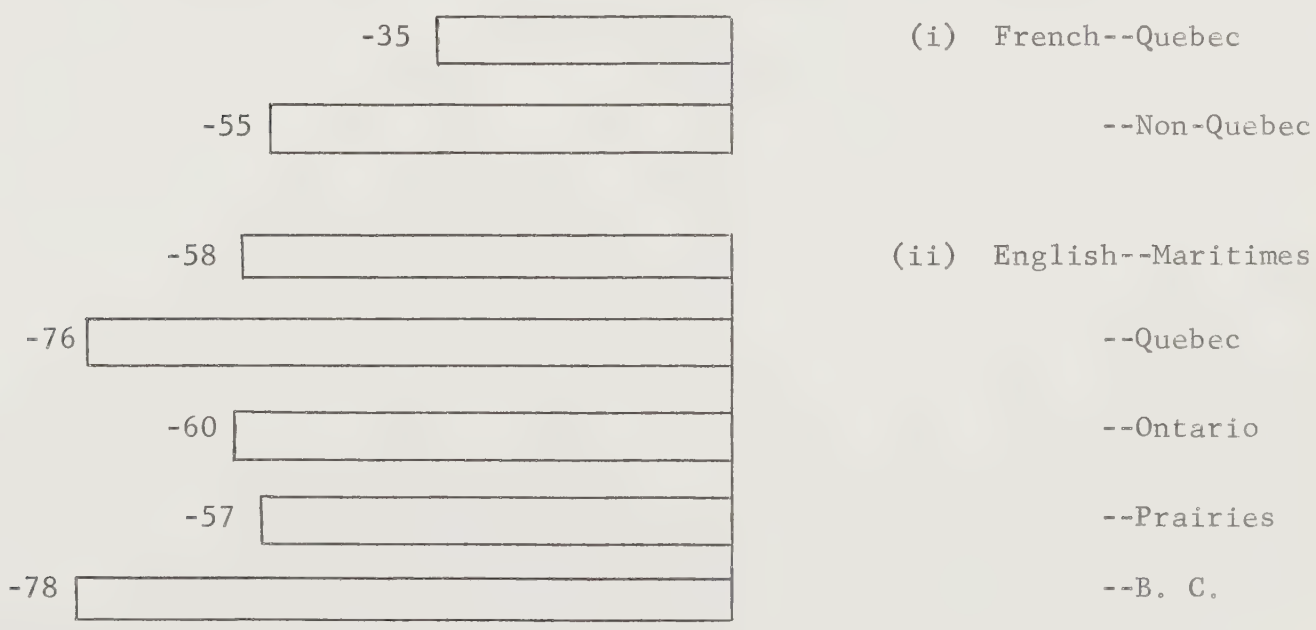
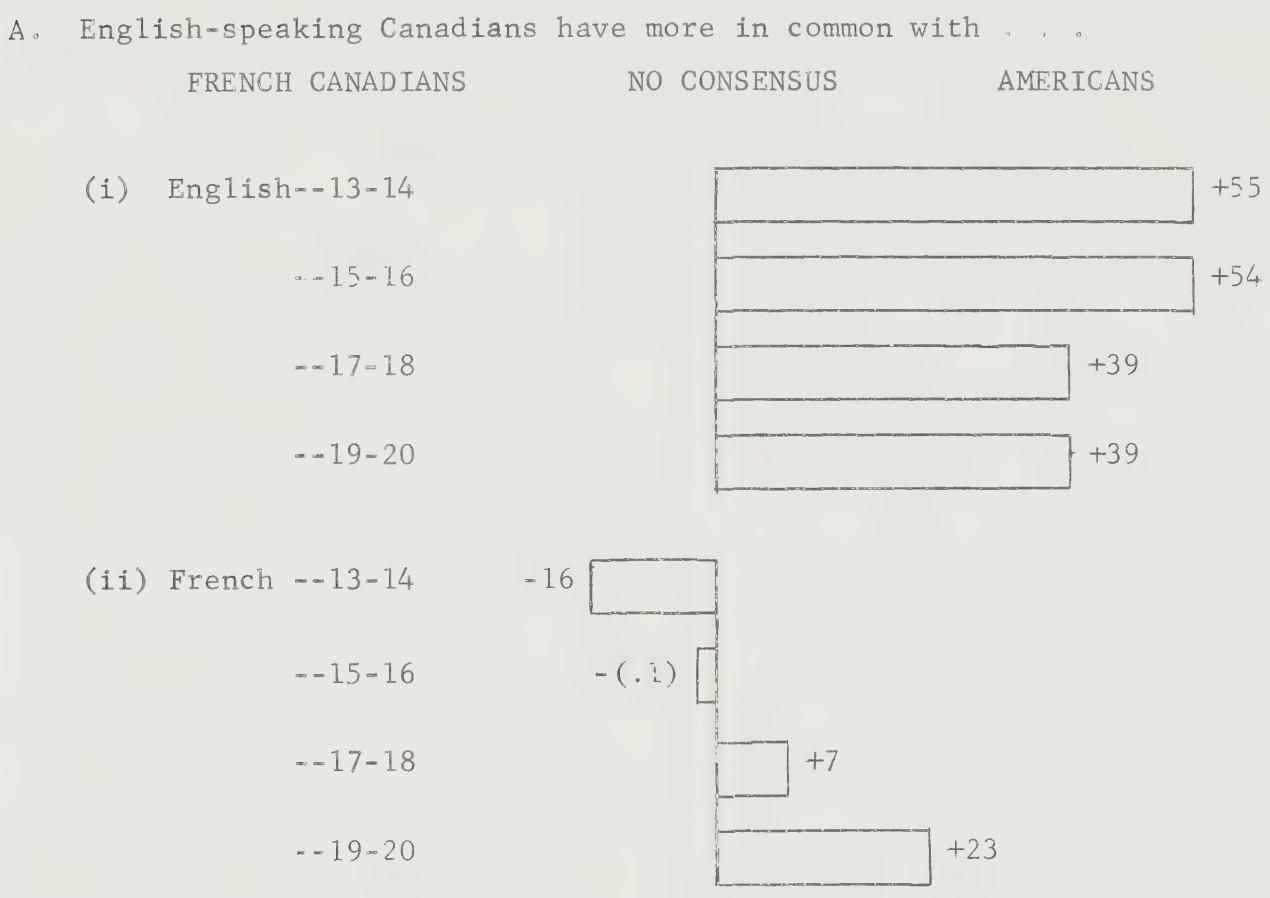
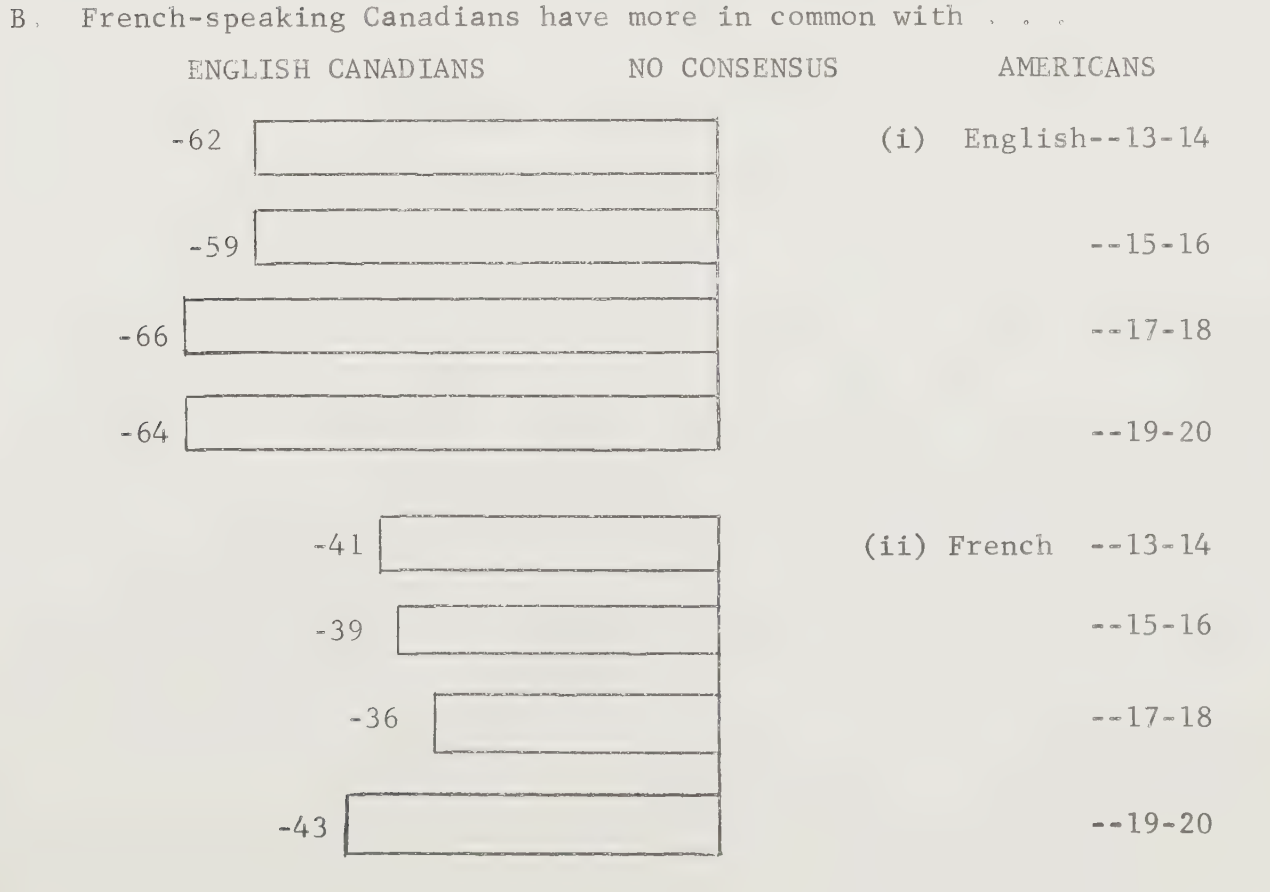


Figure I-8

AGE DIFFERENCES IN PERCEPTION OF CLOSENESS OF TIES BETWEEN ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADIANS, FRENCH-SPEAKING CANADIANS AND AMERICANS, by language spoken at home

Direction and Strength of Image





identified cross-nationally, and by a margin of 32 per cent. Nonetheless, the tendency was still much stronger in the Canadian west.

The two groups of French did not differ meaningfully when appraising English-Canadian attachments but they assessed the ties of their own group rather differently, the Quebec-French being considerably less likely to perceive their primary ties within Canada. English assessments regarding French ties did not vary much from region to region, although they were particularly one-sided in B. C. and Quebec, the same regions where Canadian-American similarities were rated the highest. (Figure I-4.) In other words, it was the Quebec- and B. C.-English who made both the strongest Canadian-American associations and the strongest French-Canadian-American disassociations.

Finally, Figure I-8 shows extremely pronounced age differences in these perspectives. The most important finding here was that older French youth were much more likely to rate English-Canadians as closer to Americans. Over the teen-age years, then, French young people would appear to become much better informed as to how English-Canadians actually feel on this issue. At thirteen and fourteen, most rated English-Canadians as more closely tied to the French; at nineteen and twenty, the majority thought differently.

At the same time, however, older English respondents seemed to be more tentative about their ties to Americans. Although still identifying solidly in that direction, the levels of consensus were quite a bit higher among the two younger groups than the two older. This counter-trend is interesting, although its implications are not all together clearcut. In Figures I-4 and I-6, for example, slight tendencies were noted for older English youth perceive less areas of commonality <u>both</u> between Americans and Canadians

and between English- and French-Canadians. The trend in Figure I-8, then, probably does not reflect a growing tendency for English youth to feel more areas of commonality with French so much as it reflects their growing propensity to perceive themselves as nationally distinct. In this sense, then, the results suggest that over the adolescent years English youth perhaps become slightly more cognizant of the fact that one of the main things they do share with French-Canadians is a common national identity.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL RELATIONS IN CANADIAN SOCIETY

At this point, the focus of attention shifts from young people's perceptions of Canada as a unitary entity to their impressions regarding social diversity in Canadian life. Once again the discussion is more concerned with beliefs than with feelings, and the evidence reviewed consists primarily of cognitive rather than affective reactions. Images of social diversity in Canada are discussed under three sub-headings. The first section considers the impressions young people have regarding the social and linguistic composition of the Canadian population. The remainder of the chapter then deals with impressions as to the cohesiveness of Canadian society: section B considers views regarding levels of consensus and cleavage among various social aggregates, and section C focuses directly on opinions regarding relations between English and French.

(A) Awareness of Social Diversity.

As might well be imagined, a wide variety of social groupings were identified when respondents were asked to list the groups of people, other than English or French, who lived in Canada (question 24). Most young people listed between one and six groups, although some named many more than this and others weren't able to think of any at all.[1] Altogether,

[1] Because the questionnaire administration was in most cases not closely supervised, it would have been possible for respondents to consult sources other than their memories when answering this question. There is no accurate way of determining the extent to which this was actually done, but there was no evidence to suggest it was done frequently. Moreover, since different subgroups would have probably done so at uniform rates, it seems safe enough to make at least comparative statements regarding levels of social awareness.

7 per cent named more than ten groups, 16 per cent named between seven and ten, 46 per cent named three to six, 18 per cent named one or two, and 14 per cent didn't name any at all.

By way of introduction, Table II-1 reports the median number of groups identified by different aggregates of young people. Part A of the table shows, first, that respondents who were themselves members of ethnic minorities were most aware of the existence of other minorities in Canada, and second, that the French named fewer groups than the English. This latter discrepancy is of a substantial magnitude for differences in medians, and it suggests, therefore, that of the three groups the French were by far the least aware of the heterogeneity of their national social environment.

Part B indicates in addition that the Quebec French were somewhat less well informed than their counterparts living in other provinces. Upon closer scrutiny, however, it turned out that this was the case only for Quebec French living outside the Montreal area. Although not shown in the table, the medians for French youth from Montreal and other parts of Quebec were, respectively, 3.62 and 2.09. Thus it was only the non-Quebec French and the Quebec French living elsewhere than in Montreal whose entries were relatively less numerous.

Among the English groups, levels of awareness were higher in the west than the east, and were highest of all among those from the Prairies. This undoubtedly reflects the fact that the population living in western regions of Canada is more ethnically heterogeneous, and would suggest, therefore, that where ethnic minorities are more numerous in the local environment, more young people are aware of their existence.

TABLE II-1

TOTAL NUMBER OF GROUPS IDENTIFIED AS LIVING IN CANADA, by language spoken at home, region and language spoken at home, and age and language spoken at home

Question 24. Besides the English and the French, what other groups of people do you know about who live in Canada?

Median Number of Groups Named[a]

Classification of Respondents	Median
A. Language spoken at home	
English (N=793)	4.26
French (N=529)	2.79
Other (N=37)	4.41
B. Region and language spoken at home	
French--Quebec (N=337)	2.74
--Non-Quebec (N=192)	3.05
English--Maritimes (N=122)	3.61
--Quebec (N=107)	4.34
--Ontario (N=291)	3.97
--Prairies (N=175)	5.41
--B. C. (N=98)	4.47
C. Age and language spoken at home	
English--13-14 (N=261)	3.88
--15-16 (N=260)	4.43
--17-18 (N=202)	4.41
--19-20 (N=68)	4.47
French--13-14 (N=161)	2.03
--15-16 (N=162)	2.85
--17-18 (N=140)	3.06
--19-20 (N=60)	3.23

[a]Medians calculated from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Finally, Part C of the table shows higher levels of social awareness among older groups of respondents, and in particular, among the French.

For the most part, these results line up pretty much as they would be expected to, although it is revealing that the non-Montreal French made noticeably fewer entries. It is of little surprise, however, to learn that Canada's social diversity is more visible to members of smaller ethnic minorities, or to young people living in areas of greater social heterogeneity.

These responses were also classified in terms of the specific groups identified, and Tables II-2 and II-3 thus indicate the relative visibility of specific minorities. The right-hand column in Table II-2 shows the overall frequency with which different groups were identified by the total sample, and indicates that only Italians were named by an actual majority (54 per cent). Almost half, however (48 per cent) noted the presence of Germans in Canada, and both non-French groups named Germans more frequently than they did Italians. For French youth, Germans were considerably less visible than Italians, but this again probably reflects differences in the residential distribution of these minorities throughout English- and French-speaking Canada.

This listing adheres moderately well to the rank order distribution of various ethnic minorities in Canadian society, but it is interesting that both Chinese and Japanese were cited relatively more often than would have been predicted by their numbers in the actual population. Of the twenty-three different groups classified, the Chinese were named third most frequently, and the Japanese seventh.

Table II-2 also indicates several sharp differences in the rates at which specific peoples were identified by members of the three language

TABLE II-2

VISIBILITY OF SPECIFIC GROUPS OF PEOPLE LIVING IN CANADA,
by language spoken at home

	Groups Named	Per Cent Who Named Different Groups[a] English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)	Total Sample (N=1,360)
(1)	Italians	52	56	61	54
(2)	Germans	58	23	72	48
(3)	Chinese	38	31	30	36
(4)	European countries not elsewhere classified or "Europeans"-- unspecified	30	34	31	31
(5)	Polish	31	13	53	26
(6)	Dutch	31	6	46	24
(7)	Japanese	27	17	28	24
(8)	Ukrainian	25	9	43	21
(9)	Scandinavian countries	25	3	25	18
(10)	Hungarians	15	11	35	15
(11)	Irish	17	7	16	14
(12)	Scotch	18	3	10	14
(13)	Jews	12	21	19	14
(14)	Russians	16	8	20	14
(15)	Americans	10	13	2	11
(16)	Negroes	11	11	9	11
(17)	Indians--unspecified.	13	4	8	10
(18)	Greeks	9	10	18	10
(19)	Eskimos	5	1	4	4
(20)	Africans	4	4	--	4
(21)	Indians--from India..	3	2	--	3
(22)	Australians	4	b	--	3
(23)	Canadian Indians	3	1	4	3
(24)	All other countries or peoples	18	6	12	14

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

[b]Less than one-half of 1 per cent.

TABLE II-3

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN VISIBILITY OF OTHER GROUPS LIVING IN CANADA, by language spoken at home

Group	Per Cent Who Named Different Groups[a]						
	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Maritimes (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
(1) Italians .	59	43	48	66	65	31	53
(2) Germans ..	19	41	46	62	59	62	61
(3) Chinese ..	30	35	43	34	26	46	52
(4) Europeans-nec. ...	36	26	19	38	34	26	33
(5) Polish ...	13	14	27	39	33	37	18
(6) Dutch	3	15	30	16	38	27	25
(7) Japanese .	17	20	20	25	19	34	42
(8) Ukrainians	8	16	12	15	18	52	20
(9) Scandina-vians ..	2	6	16	17	18	36	36
(10) Hungarians	11	11	16	29	15	16	12
(11) Irish	6	11	18	9	15	24	11
(12) Scotch ...	2	7	20	6	15	26	17
(13) Jews	21	20	12	23	12	11	6
(14) Russians .	7	11	11	18	14	20	22
(15) Americans.	14	9	10	7	10	12	10
(16) Negroes ..	11	10	6	9	10	15	11
(17) Indiana--unspec-ified ..	2	10	13	15	11	16	15
(18) Greeks ...	12	3	13	17	7	8	8
(19) Eskimos ..	1	2	7	5	4	3	7
(20) Africans..	4	4	4	9	5	5	3
(21) Indians--from India ..	1	4	4	3	3	1	6
(22) Australians	b	b	2	4	3	5	5
(23) Canadian Indians.	b	1	4	7	2	2	4
(24) All other.	5	9	15	8	14	21	30

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted group totals.

[b]Less than one half of 1 per cent.

groups. The most typical pattern was for groups to be listed most often by "others," second most often by English-speaking youth, and least often by the French. This was especially pronounced in the case of European nationals, and in particular Germans, Dutch, Poles, Ukrainians, Hungarians, and Russians. French youth, on the other hand, were a little more likely than the others to simply identify "Europeans," without making reference to specific national origins.

These responses are also reviewed by region in Table II-3, and marked discrepancies may be noted within practically all categories. The main tendency here was for groups to be named most often in those regions where they are actually most numerous. Thus Italians were identified relatively more often by young people from Ontario and Quebec, Chinese and Japanese more often by the B. C. English, and Ukrainians very much more often by English-speaking youth from the prairie provinces. In the main, then, these detailed breakdowns add few new insights, and their major contribution is simply to confirm that young people were better informed about the social makeup of their own region.

While it is difficult to decide whether these patterns of response represent high or low levels of social awareness, one could at least conclude that the larger ethnic minorities in Canada are visible to sizeable numbers of young people from the two main cultures. Levels of awareness also appear to increase with age, but the most important finding here is that awareness is influenced markedly by the demographic features of particular regions. On the whole, French youth were less aware than English of the presence of other minorities in Canada, but in Montreal where their chances for intergroup contacts are higher, they were no less well informed

than many English-speaking groups. More generally, then, the results suggest that young people derive their impressions of the social diversity of Canadian society more often from direct personal experiences than from other channels or sources.

A second indicator of social awareness was provided by the estimates young people made of the linguistic composition of the Canadian population. In this regard, respondents were asked to guess how many Canadians out of every ten spoke English, French, or a language other than English or French as their first language (Question 23). On the basis of the 1961 census breakdowns by mother tongue,[2] answers of five or six persons out of ten would be accurate in the case of English, a correct estimate for French would be two or three persons out of ten, and one or two in ten would be correct for those speaking other languages. The responses were therefore scored in this fashion, and the results are reported in Table II-4 through II-6.

The most important single finding in Table II-4 is that all three groups showed a marked tendency to overestimate their own numbers. Among the English youth, 43 per cent gave accurate estimates of their numbers, but almost as many (38 per cent) estimated too high; among French the comparable proportions were almost identical--44 and 37 per cent; and those speaking other languages were only a little more accurate about themselves--50 per cent estimating correctly and 27 per cent too high.

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[2]The distribution of population by mother tongue in 1961 was 58 per cent English, 28 per cent French and 13 per cent other languages. Source: 1961 Census of Canada; Catalogue 92-549, Vol. 1, Part 2: Official Language and Mother Tongue.

TABLE II-4

AWARENESS OF LINGUISTIC COMPOSITION OF CANADIAN POPULATION, by language spoken at home

Question 22. Out of every ten Canadians how many would you guess speak English (French, a language other than English or French) as their first language?

Accuracy of Answers	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
	Per Cent Making Different Estimates[a]		
A. How many speak English?			
Accurate answer (5-6)	43	34	49
High estimate	38	22	15
Low estimate	10	29	16
No estimate made	9	14	19
Total	100	99	99
B. How many speak French?			
Accurate answer (2-3)	63	44	48
High estimate	11	37	13
Low estimate	18	4	19
No estimate made	9	14	19
Total	101	99	99
C. How many speak other languages?			
Accurate answer (1-2)	76	71	50
High estimate	10	8	27
Low estimate	5	7	3
No estimate made	9	14	19
Total	100	100	99

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

As it turned out, then, no group made its most accurate judgment when thinking about itself. The best estimate of the English-speaking population was made by members of the third group (49 per cent correct), while English youth were the best at estimating the numbers speaking French and other languages (63 and 76 per cent, respectively).

In overview, all three groups (a) saw themselves as more numerous than they actually were; (b) tended very infrequently to underestimate themselves; and (c) were in general more accurate when appraising other groups than when thinking about themselves.

These estimates did not vary much among young people from different parts of the country, although Table II-5 does indicate one or two points of divergence worth noting. First, among the French, those living outside Quebec were somewhat more accurate in assessing the size of the English-speaking population, although they were no more likely than their counterparts from Quebec to be correct when identifying either themselves or the "others." On the English side, it was the Quebec youth who were least often correct in judging their own numbers and most likely to overrepresent the French. In both these cases, however, the margins were only slight.

By comparison, the variations by age were much more pronounced. Although no sizeable or consistent age trend was observed among the English, Table II-6 shows that older French youth were a great deal more likely than their juniors to overestimate English-speaking Canadians. These errors increased steadily from rates of 11 per cent among the youngest group to 39 per cent among those just entering their twenties. The perceptual distortions of French young people thus showed a remarkable shifting during adolescence: those just entering their teens were about three times more

TABLE II-5

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN AWARENESS OF LINGUISTIC COMPOSITION OF CANADIAN POPULATION, by language spoken at home

Accuracy of Answers	Per Cent Making Different Estimates[a]						
	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Maritimes (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
A. How many speak English?							
Accurate answer (5-6)....	32	44	42	36	46	38	44
High estimate	24	16	41	39	31	47	39
Low estimate	30	25	10	19	12	9	6
No estimate made	14	16	7	6	11	6	10
Total	100	101	100	100	100	100	99
B. How many speak French?							
Accurate answer (2-3) ...	44	46	65	63	64	57	68
High estimate	38	37	15	18	8	13	8
Low estimate	5	2	13	13	18	24	14
No estimate made	14	16	7	6	11	6	10
Total	101	101	100	100	101	100	100
C. How many speak other languages?							
Accurate answer (1-2) ...	71	71	77	83	72	81	81
High estimate	7	10	6	10	12	10	5
Low estimate	8	4	10	1	5	3	4
No estimate made	14	16	7	6	11	6	10
Total	100	101	100	100	100	100	100

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

TABLE II-6

AGE DIFFERENCES IN AWARENESS OF LINGUISTIC COMPOSITION OF CANADIAN POPULATION, by language spoken at home

Accuracy of Answers	Per Cent Making Different Estimates[a]							
	English				French			
	13-14 (N=261)	15-16 (N=260)	17-18 (N=202)	19-20 (N=68)	13-14 (N=161)	15-16 (N=160)	17-18 (N=140)	19-20 (N=60)
A. How many speak English?								
Accurate answer (5-6) .	45	41	37	53	37	33	35	30
High estimate	36	37	42	40	11	17	28	39
Low estimate	12	11	10	7	30	37	24	22
No estimate made	8	11	11	1	22	13	13	9
Total	101	100	100	101	100	100	100	100
B. How many speak French?								
Accurate answer (2-3) .	66	57	63	72	42	38	47	56
High estimate	12	14	7	8	36	45	34	27
Low estimate	14	19	20	19	--	4	7	8
No estimate made	8	11	11	1	22	13	13	9
Total	100	101	101	100	100	100	101	100
C. How many speak other languages?								
Accurate answer (1-2) .	78	74	75	84	61	75	71	80
High estimate	9	10	9	11	9	6	10	2
Low estimate	5	5	5	4	7	6	7	8
No estimate made	8	11	11	1	22	13	13	9
Total	100	100	100	100	99	100	101	99

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

likely to overrepresent themselves than to overrepresent the English (36 per cent compared with 11 per cent), while for those just entering adulthood the errors were predominantly in the opposite direction (27 per cent and 39 per cent). In effect, then, it would appear that during the adolescent years French youth not only become cognizant of the fact of English-language dominance in Canadian society, but are so impressed by this fact that they come to grossly overstate their own position of minority status.

B. Areas of Consensus and Cleavage in Canadian Life

Images regarding national unity were measured by asking young people the extent to which they thought different social aggregates in Canadian life would agree on questions regarding Canada's future (questions 4 through 10). These assessments were first made for Canadians as a whole, and then separately for six pairs of subgroups--Westerners and Easterners, Catholics and Protestants, French and English, native-born and foreign-born, rich and poor, and urban and rural. Direct operational definitions of the concept of consensus were provided as answer categories on these questions, the possible responses ranging from estimates that groups would "agree on practically everything" to assessments that they would "disagree on practically everything." Because of this property, then, the responses can be meaningfully interpreted either separately, as estimates of specific levels of consensus or cleavage between groups, or comparatively, as the dimensions perceived as more and less threatening to Canadian national unity.

To begin, Table II-7 reports the percentage distributions of response on all seven questions, and in addition shows the mean level of

consensus rated for each dimension. These mean scores were calculated by assigning values of between one and five to the different response catetories, one representing appraisals as to high agreement, and five appraisals of high intergroup dissent. The range of possible group scores here, therefore, is between 1.00 and 5.00, with lower scores indicating higher estimates of consensus. Mean scores lower than 3.00 thus represent deviations in the direction of consensus, while scores higher than 3.00 indicate that the groups were more often seen to disagree than to agree. The main issue here, then, is whether the scores deviated above or below 3.00--the threshold between images of consensus and dissent.

The first result to be noted in Table II-7 is that considerably more dimensions were rated as areas of consensus in Canadian life than as sources of potential cleavage. Of eighteen mean scores of intergroup consensus, sixteen were lower than 3.00, and in addition, all three groups felt that Canadians in general would agree more often than disagree. Part A of the table shows that ratings of agreement outnumbered those of disagreement by ratios as large as forty-four to twelve among the English, thirty-seven to eighteen among the French, and thirty-four to ten among the "others." In the main, then, these evaluations could be said to reflect images of a basically cohesive social fabric.

One rather striking contrast in the response patterns of the English and French was that their positions were reversed when rating the population as a whole and specific subgroups within the population. On the global assessment, it was the English who saw relatively greater consensus, while on all six comparisons between subgroups levels of agreement were rated higher by the French. This reversal is not easily accounted

TABLE II-7

AREAS OF PERCEIVED CONSENSUS AND CLEAVAGE IN CANADIAN SOCIETY, by language spoken at home

Responses	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
Per Cent Giving Different Responses[a]			
A. CANADIANS IN GENERAL. Question 4. Suppose that votes were taken on a lot of (other) questions about the future of Canada. Do you think Canadians would agree on most things about Canada's future, or that they'd tend to disagree?			
They'd agree on practically everything	5	6	1
They'd agree on most things	39	31	33
They'd agree on half and disagree on half .	35	36	49
They'd disagree on most things	10	14	10
They'd disagree on practically everything .	2	4	--
I'm not sure	8	8	7
Total	99	99	100
Mean[b]	2.63	2.78	2.74
B. REGIONS. Question 5. How about people from Eastern Canada and people from Western Canada--would they agree or disagree on most questions about Canada's future?			
They'd agree on practically everything	3	7	1
They'd agree on most things	25	23	14
They'd agree on half and disagree on half .	35	32	43
They'd disagree on most things	20	15	11
They'd disagree on practically everything .	5	5	1
I'm not sure	13	18	30
Total	101	100	100
Mean	2.98	2.85	2.96

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

[b]Based on scores of 1-5 with low scores indicating higher levels of perceived agreement. Excludes those with no opinions.

TABLE II-7--(Continued)

Responses	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
Per Cent Giving Different Responses[a]			
C. RELIGION. Question 6. How about Catholics and Protestants--would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?			
They'd agree on practically everything . ..	9	16	13
They'd agree on most things	35	30	20
They'd agree on half and disagree on half..	29	21	22
They'd disagree on most things	11	12	21
They'd disagree on practically everything .	3	6	4
I'm not sure	12	16	20
Total	99	101	100
Mean	2.61	2.54	2.78
D. ETHNICITY. Question 7. How about French-speaking Canadians and English-speaking Canadians--would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?			
They'd agree on practically everything	3	10	2
They'd agree on most things	16	26	3
They'd agree on half and disagree on half .	32	30	37
They'd disagree on most things	28	18	28
They'd disagree on practically everything .	13	9	22
I'm not sure	8	8	8
Total	100	101	100
Mean	3.35	2.89	3.72
E. NATIVITY. Question 8. How about people born in Canada and people born outside of Canada--would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?			
They'd agree on practically everything	9	15	6
They'd agree on most things	34	34	34
They'd agree on half and disagree on half .	27	21	37
They'd disagree on most things	11	9	4
They'd disagree on practically everything .	3	6	--
I'm not sure	17	15	18
Total	101	100	99
Mean	2.59	2.49	2.48

TABLE II-7--(Continued)

Responses	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
Per Cent Giving Different Responses[a]			
F. SOCIAL CLASS. Question 9. How about people from rich families and people from poor families--would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?			
They'd agree on practically everything .	8	12	6
They'd agree on most things	25	24	22
They'd agree on half and disagree on half	31	30	24
They'd disagree on most things	20	15	23
They'd disagree on practically everything	7	9	6
I'm not sure	9	11	19
Total	100	101	100
Mean	2.93	2.85	2.98
G. PLACE OF RESIDENCE. Question 10. What about people from the big cities and people from the rural areas--would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?			
They'd agree on practically everything .	5	12	6
They'd agree on most things	30	32	29
They'd agree on half and disagree on half	33	28	26
They'd disagree on most things	18	13	25
They'd disagree on practically everything	4	4	4
I'm not sure	11	10	10
Total	101	99	100
Mean	2.85	2.61	2.91

for, although there is some reason to believe that the question on overall consensus may have conveyed different meanings to members of the two groups. Because of their relative numbers in the population, for example, it is not unlikely that many more English youth than French thought about relations within their own language group when confronted with this question.

Of the seven sets of responses, then, only one contained ratings as to predominant dissent, both non-French groups rating levels of agreement between English and French decidedly below the consensus threshold. On this dimension, Part D of Table II-7 shows that disagreement evaluations outnumbered ratings of consensus by ratios of forty-one to nineteen among the English, and by as much as fifty to five among the "others." French youth, by comparison, saw a much higher level of consensus possible between the two cultural groups, although they too rated this dimension lowest of the six. The average rating of French youth, however, fell above the consensus threshold (2.89), with more seeing the two groups in agreement than in disagreement (36 per cent compared with 27 per cent).

Over and above this discrepancy, the three groups made highly similar appraisals as to the areas of high and low consensus in Canadian life. This tendency can be much more clearly noted when the average ratings are listed in rank order.

English	French	Other
1. Nativity (2.59)	1. Nativity (2.49)	1. Nativity (2.48)
2. Religion (2.61)	2. Religion (2.54)	2. Religion (2.78)
3. Urban-rural (2.63)	3. Urban-rural (2.61)	3. Urban-rural (2.91)
4. Social class (2.93)	4. Social class (2.85)	4. Region (2.96)
5. Region (2.98)	5. Region (2.85)	5. Social class (2.98)
6. French-English (3.35)	6. French-English (2.89)	6. French-English (3.72)

Except for inversions at the fourth and fifth positions, then, these rankings are identical. All three groups agreed that consensus would be highest between native- and foreign-born, second highest between Catholics and Protestants, and third highest between people from the big cities and the rural areas. By comparison, levels of consensus between easterners and westerners and between the economic classes were rated considerably lower,

particularly by the English and French, while English-French consensus, as already noted, was rated lowest of all.

In overview, these data suggest the following conclusions:

(1) All groups of young people recognized that English-French differences of opinion posed the relatively strongest threat to Canadian national unity.

(2) Regional differences and differences between economic classes were regarded as more threatening than differences between immigrant and native-born populations, between religious groups, or between urban and rural populations.

(3) The English and French made quite different appraisals of their differences of opinion regarding Canada's future. English youth saw the two groups as definitely in disagreement on this score, while French young people were considerably more optimistic that areas of agreement could be found. Members of the third group were again closer to the English than the French position in these views, although they perceived an even greater lack of consensus here than did the English.

These ratings are also reviewed by region in Table II-8 and by age in Table II-9. First, with regard to region, several points of difference may be noted in the reactions of French-speaking young people living in Quebec and in other provinces: the non-Quebec French saw considerably higher levels of agreement among Canadians as a whole (+.20), between easterners and westerners (+.19), and between English and French (+.12), but were considerably more likely to perceive nativity as a source of cleavage in Canadian life (-.20). Compared with the Quebec French, in other words, French youth living outside their region of cultural dominance

TABLE II-8

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN LEVELS OF PERCEIVED CONSENSUS AND CLEAVAGE IN CANADIAN SOCIETY, by language spoken at home

Dimension	Mean Scores on Measures of Perceived Consensus[a]						
	French		Ontario				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Maritimes (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
Canadians as a whole	2.81	2.61	2.59	2.78	2.65	2.58	2.68
REGION							
Eastern Canadians and Western Canadians	2.89	2.70	2.79	2.96	3.01	3.03	2.97
RELIGION							
Protestants and Catholics .	2.54	2.62	2.63	2.66	2.54	2.69	2.61
ETHNICITY							
French and English	2.91	2.79	3.21	3.37	3.25	3.58	3.37
NATIVITY							
Canadian born and foreign born	2.46	2.66	2.80	2.37	2.59	2.47	2.65
SOCIAL CLASS							
Rich and poor	2.85	2.85	2.90	2.91	2.99	2.98	2.71
PLACE OF RESIDENCE							
Urban and rural	2.62	2.58	2.95	2.97	2.88	2.81	2.69

[a]Based on scores of 1-5 with low scores indicating higher levels of perceived agreement. Excludes those with no opinions.

TABLE II-9

AGE DIFFERENCES IN LEVELS OF PERCEIVED CONSENSUS AND CLEAVAGE IN CANADIAN SOCIETY, by language spoken at home

Dimension	Mean Scores on Measures of Perceived Consensus[a]							
	English				French			
	13-14 (N=261)	15-16 (N=260)	17-18 (N=202)	19-20 (N=68)	13-14 (N=161)	15-16 (N=160)	17-18 (N=140)	19-20 (N=60)
Canadians as a whole	2.78	2.90	2.84	2.92	2.58	2.64	2.57	2.67
REGION								
Eastern Canadians and Western Canadians	2.88	3.08	3.03	2.83	2.67	2.88	2.65	2.94
RELIGION								
Protestants and Catholics.	2.64	2.64	2.53	2.59	2.76	2.39	2.59	2.41
ETHNICITY								
French and English	3.31	3.36	3.38	3.37	2.82	2.80	2.90	3.16
NATIVITY								
Canadian born and foreign born	2.56	2.54	2.70	2.57	2.67	2.43	2.42	2.42
SOCIAL CLASS								
Rich and poor	2.89	2.98	2.90	2.96	2.74	2.86	2.82	3.01
PLACE OF RESIDENCE								
Urban and rural	2.78	2.90	2.84	2.92	2.58	2.64	2.57	2.67

[a]Based on scores of 1-5 with low scores indicating higher levels of perceived agreement. Excludes those with no opinions.

viewed Canadian national unity as relatively less threatened by differences of opinion between French and English, and relatively more threatened by a lack of consensus between immigrants and native-born groups.

Among the English, interestingly, a very similar pattern characterized the responses of young people from the Maritime provinces. The Maritimers were less likely than other English-speaking groups to see east-west or French-English differences of opinion on goals for Canada, but were highest by a considerable margin in the extent to which they saw disagreements between native- and foreign-born peoples. The most important regional variations in perspectives on national unity, then, were that both the Maritime-English and the non-Quebec French tended to understate divergences of opinion between the "charter" Canadian groups, and overstate differences between New Canadians and people born in Canada.

Turning now to the age comparisons, the figures for English-speaking youth are much more impressive for their stability than their variability (Table II-9). Although older English youth saw slightly less overall consensus among Canadians, the figures for the six intergroup comparisons suggest no significant changes of perspective during the teen years with respect of areas of consensus and cleavage in Canadian society. Rank-order comparisons among the four age-groups, in fact, revealed an extremely high concordance of ratings.[3]

Definite shifts of emphasis may be detected among French youth, on the other hand, and the overall concordance of their ratings was lower

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[3] $W = .91$. This statistic, Kendall's coefficient of concordance, indicates the ratio of observed agreement among ranked judgments to the total possible agreement.

than that found for English-speaking young people.[4] Although the trends are not perfectly linear, older French yough were nonetheless more likely than their juniors to perceive divergences of opinion between ethnic and social class groupings, and saw relatively more consensus on the dimensions of religion and nativity.

To sum up, the findings in this section add further support for the conclusion that the years between thirteen and twenty are extremely critical to French-Canadian young people in so far as the development of a collective identity is concerned. During these years French youth not only come to realize their position as members of a minority culture in Canada, but come to recognize more ways in which their perspectives on Canada differ from those of the dominant group.

C. Relations between the Two Cultures--Present and Future

In addition to assessing whether English- and French-Canadians would agree or disagree on questions regarding Canada's future, young people were also asked to rate the quality of present relations between the two cultures, and to assess the prospects for improved relations both in the immediate and more distant future (questions 37 to 39). To conclude the chapter, these opinions are reviewed in Tables II-10 to II-12.

First, from Part A of Table II-10, it is clear that very few young people regarded the present state of English-French relations in Canada as particularly amicable. Considerably more rated them as "poor" than as "good," in fact, the pluralities here being 25 per cent among the "others," 18 per cent among the English, and 7 per cent among the French.

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[4] $W = .64$.

TABLE II-10

PERCEPTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLISH AND FRENCH,
by language spoken at home

A. Question 37. Right now, how good would you say relations are between English-Canadians and French-Canadians--would you say good, fair or poor?

Responses	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
Good	12%[a]	15%	8%
Fair	52	53	53
Poor	30	22	33
I'm not sure	6	10	6
Total	100	100	100

B. Question 38. Right now would you say that English-French relations in Canada are getting better, getting worse, or staying about the same?

Getting better	22%[a]	41%	9%
Getting worse	36	13	30
Staying about the same	33	30	51
I'm not sure	10	15	9
Total	101	99	99

C. Question 39. Over the next ten years, do you think English-French relations in Canada will get better, get worse, or stay about the same as they are now?

Get better	47%[a]	57%	40%
Get worse	21	10	21
Stay about the same	14	14	10
I'm not sure	18	18	29
Total	100	99	100

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

This pattern is therefore quite consistent with that found in the previous section, and the results confirm that intercultural relations were viewed as least strained by the French, and as least harmonious by members of the smaller ethnic minorities.

It was in their interpretations of the direction of short-run changes in these relations, however, that the three groups differed most radically. (Part B, Table II-10.) Among the French, more saw relations as improving than as worsening (by a margin of 28 per cent), while both other groups viewed the situation as worsening, the English by a margin of 14 per cent, the "others" by 21 per cent. Here again, then, members of the third group were the most pessimistic.

In sharp contrast, Part C of Table II-10 indicates that all three groups saw an improved situation when thinking ahead a decade. In projecting over the long term, in other words, both the English and the "others" completely reversed their short-run interpretations, although here again the French were the most optimistic and the "others" least so.

To recapitulate, then, all groups of young people agreed that present relations between the two main Canadian groups were less good than they might be, but they disagreed sharply in their interpretations regarding when an upswing might be expected. In the eyes of French youth, the situation was already seen to be improving, while both other groups felt that no improvement would be forthcoming until at least some time later than the immediate future. On all three evaluations, finally, it was the French who viewed intergroup relations most favourably, and members of the third group who regarded them as most tenuous.

As would be anticipated, marked discrepancies turned up when these assessments were examined on a region to region basis. Table II-11 indicates first that of the two French-speaking groups it was those from Quebec who saw current relations as more strained and who also held the more pessimistic views concerning prospects for both the immediate and long-range future. Although the groups differed by just 4 per cent in appraising current relations as favourable, the Quebec French were 10 per cent more likely to rate them as "poor" than as "good," while for those living outside of Quebec the balance was 5 per cent in the opposite direction. A similar index, the difference in the proportions who viewed the situation as improving and worsening, can be employed to summarize interpretations regarding change, and on both of these indicators the reactions of the non-Quebec French turned out to be the more optimistic (by +37 to +26 per cent in the short run, and by +52 to +45 in projections to the more distant future). At the same time, however, it is meaningful that even the Quebec French regarded the direction of current changes much more often as favourable than unfavourable.

Turning now to the English, it may be observed that western youth assessed the present situation much less favourably than those living in eastern regions. The proportions who described relations as "good" declined progressively from a high of 19 per cent among the Maritime-English to a low of 8 per cent among those from B. C. This trend is also reflected in the balance between the extreme ratings (per cent "good" minus per cent "poor"), these scores being -8 per cent for the Maritimes and Quebec groups, -16 per cent among those from Ontario, -25 per cent for the Prairies group, and -24 per cent among those living in B. C. In overview, then, all

TABLE II-11

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN PERCEPTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLISH AND FRENCH, by language spoken at home

Responses	Per Cent Giving Different Responses[a]						
	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Maritimes (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B. C. (N=98)
A. RELATIONS RIGHT NOW							
Good	14	18	19	15	11	10	8
Fair	51	62	44	58	56	49	56
Poor	24	13	27	23	27	35	32
No opinion	11	7	9	3	6	6	5
Total	100	100	99	99	100	100	101
B. DIRECTION OF CHANGES RIGHT NOW							
Getting better	39	50	25	15	24	19	17
Getting worse	13	13	36	41	32	37	39
Staying about the same	32	23	27	40	34	32	38
No opinion	15	14	12	4	10	11	6
Total	99	100	100	100	100	99	100
C. CHANGES OVER NEXT TEN YEARS							
Get better	56	60	50	53	49	42	44
Get worse	11	8	20	11	21	25	15
Stay about the same	14	14	14	18	13	14	16
No opinion	18	18	16	19	16	19	25
Total	99	100	100	101	99	100	100

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

English-speaking groups viewed English-French relations more negatively than positively, but those furthest removed from French Canada were the ones particularly likely to do so.

A quite different kind of regional pattern was reflected in the evaluations regarding change. Here the east-to-west patterning was disrupted by the reactions of the Quebec English, who of the five English-speaking groups were the most pessimistic about the short-run prospects for better relations, but were the most optimistic about long-term outcomes. Thus, while all five groups regarded the immediate future as unfavourable and the long-range prospects as positive, it was the Quebec English who were most extreme in their reactions.

Finally, Table II-12 shows that older adolescents were a little more likely to perceive intergroup relations as strained. This tendency can be detected in the reactions of both language groups, although it is less consistent and less pronounced among the English. Among the French, however, the balance between "good" and "poor" ratings shifts progressively from a positive assessment of 7 per cent among the thirteen- and fourteen-year olds to a negative balance of 15 per cent among those entering their twenties. Parts B and C of the table, on the other hand, indicate no important age shifts in evaluations concerning the future, although Part C does suggest that older English youth may have been a little more likely to hold optimistic views on the long-range prospects for French-English relations.

In conclusion, the most important finding to emerge from this section is that English and French youth, while sharing rather similar views on the actual state of present relations between their groups, made

TABLE II-12

AGE DIFFERENCES IN PERCEPTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLISH AND FRENCH,
by language spoken at home

Responses	Per Cent Giving Different Responses[a]							
	English				French			
	13-14 (N=261)	15-16 (N=260)	17-18 (N=202)	19-20 (N=68)	13-14 (N=161)	15-16 (N=160)	17-18 (N=140)	19-20 (N=60)
A. RELATIONS RIGHT NOW								
Good	12	11	14	10	22	12	13	12
Fair	55	50	49	58	52	55	53	52
Poor	26	32	31	32	15	22	24	27
No opinion	8	7	6	--	11	10	9	8
Total	101	100	100	100	100	99	99	99
B. DIRECTION OF CHANGES RIGHT NOW								
Getting better	22	23	25	13	43	38	44	41
Getting worse	40	31	34	37	10	18	14	8
Staying about the same	30	34	31	44	32	21	32	40
No opinion	9	12	10	6	16	23	10	11
Total	101	100	100	100	101	100	100	100
C. CHANGES OVER NEXT TEN YEARS								
Get better	43	47	49	51	61	54	57	57
Get worse	21	21	20	19	8	11	10	15
Stay about the same ..	16	14	11	17	13	15	17	11
No opinion	20	19	19	12	18	20	16	18
Total	100	101	99	99	100	100	100	101

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

radically different assessments as to the direction in which these relations were moving. In all regions of the country and in all stages of adolescence the English viewed intergroup relations as worsening while the French saw them as getting better.

Chapter III

ATTITUDES REGARDING BILINGUALISM--I: COMMITMENT TO BILINGUAL GOALS FOR CANADA*

The next two chapters deal with the question of bilingualism. Chapter III examines young people's attitudes regarding the use of two languages in Canadian society, and explores their readiness to see bilingualism extended within Canada. Chapter IV then discusses the ways in which young people evaluate the utility of bilingual skills and addresses the question of motives for becoming bilingual.

The present chapter is divided into four sections. Section A introduces the measures used to tap attitudes regarding bilingualism, and reports on the incidence of these dispositions among both English and French-speaking young people. The second section traces how these attitudes vary among different sub-groups of young people--those in different stages of adolescence, from different regions and social backgrounds, and with differing aspirations for the future. The question of regional differences is explored further in Section C, where an analysis is presented of the impact of intergroup contacts on attitudes regarding bilingualism. Finally, Section D examines levels of

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*Parts of this chapter and the next were prepared in collaboration with Jean-Claude Willig and some of the results also appear in Willig's paper "Canadian Youth and Bilingualism: Choice or Necessity?", unpublished M.A. research paper, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1965.

bilingual facility among young people, and explores the connections between language facility, intergroup contacts and dispositions regarding bilingualism.

A. Measures of Attitudes regarding Bilingualism

Although the survey did not confront young people with direct questions on their feelings regarding other groups of people living in Canada, intergroup attitudes were at least indirectly tapped in the section of the questionnaire dealing with attitudes towards the "other" language. Indeed, insofar as language constitutes the most visible difference between the two main groups under study here, a case could be made that reactions to the other language would in large measure coincide with reactions to the group itself.

Attitudes on the language issue were measured by asking respondents to endorse or reject a series of positions regarding desirable bilingual practices or goals for Canada. These situations covered the mandatory teaching of English and French in Canadian schools, the desirability of having road signs displayed in two languages throughout Canada, acceptance of the constitutional position of Canada's two official languages, acceptance of the ideal of a fully bilingual population, and reactions to the suggestion that Canadian citizens have some non-utilitarian obligation to acquire facility in both official languages (see Question 36 in Appendix A).

Before proceeding further, a comment or two should be made regarding the probable meanings these questions would have for English- and French-speaking respondents. There is little doubt that several of these positions represent a considerable departure from current bilingual practices in Canadian life, and that these departures would all work to elevate the general status and usage of French. Indeed, if bilingual road signs were introduced

throughout Canada, there would be many more additions of French than of English. For the most part, then, French-speaking young people would have considerably more to gain than their English-speaking counterparts in endorsing positions of this type. This also raises the problem of how to interpret and name the reactions elicited by these questions. For English-speaking respondents, the measures probably tap a dimension which could be meaningfully labeled as "tolerance" (or "intolerance") for extended usage of the "other language" in Canada; for the French, on the other hand, the reactions would seem better interpreted as convictions that one's own language should be accorded more widespread use in the Canadian national community. In any event, the questions undoubtedly conveyed different connotations to members of the two language groups, and we could therefore expect considerably higher rates of endorsement from the French.

With these qualifications outlined, we now turn to the results. Table III-1 reports the incidence of favourable reactions on each of the five statements, positive responses being indicated on some statements by agreement and on others by disagreement. In all cases we have interpreted "no opinion" answers as reflecting the absence of favourable disposition. Finally, because two of the statements were phrased differently on the English and French versions of the questionnaire, the table separates out the responses of French youth who answered English-language forms.

As expected these figures indicate that all five positions were endorsed considerably more often by French than English-speaking young people. In addition, they show that the reactions of those speaking a language other than English or French were again closer to the English position than to the French.

TABLE III-1

ATTITUDES REGARDING BILINGUALISM IN CANADA, by language spoken at home and language in which questionnaire answered

STATEMENT	Per Cent Indicating Favourable Dispositions Regarding Bilingualism[a] ENGLISH (N=781)	FRENCH Answered French Questionnaire (N=452)	FRENCH Answered English Questionnaire (N=77)	OTHER (N=35)
(1) "It would be a good thing if all Canadians could speak both French and English." (Per cent who agreed).....	81	91	98	74
(2) "French and English should be required subjects in all Canadian schools." (Per cent who agreed).....	65	86	92	63
(3) "As far as I'm concerned, Canada should have just one official language--English." (Per cent who disagreed).....	58	--	94	59
"En ce qui me concerne, le Canada ne devrait avoir qu'une seule langue officielle: le Français." (Per cent who disagreed).....	--	70	--	--
(4) "It would be a good idea to have road signs printed in both English and French all over Canada." (Per cent who agreed.)	54	86	80	60
(5) "There is no reason why an English-speaking Canadian should have to learn French if he is never going to use it." (Per cent who disagreed).....	45	--	76	47
"Un Canadien de langue française ne devrait pas avoir à apprendre l'Anglais s'il ne va jamais s'en servir." (Per cent who disagreed).....	--	69	--	--

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

On balance, the reactions of English-speaking youth indicate what could at best be assessed as a modest level of linguistic tolerance. Only two positions--that a fully bilingual population would be a good thing for Canada, and that both languages should be taught as required subjects in all Canadian schools--were given high levels of endorsement by English youth, while on the other three their responses hovered close to an even split between support and non-support. Moreover, whereas 81 per cent endorsed the ideal of a fully bilingual population for Canada, only 45 per cent acknowledged any obligation to become bilingual themselves, a rather marked discrepancy between a stated ideal and a readiness to act in relation to it. Similar discrepancies may be noted in the responses of the French-speaking groups, but these are considerably smaller than among the English (22 per cent compared with 36 per cent).

On all five positions, then, the French revealed the higher levels of commitment, and on four of the five the highest rates of all were found among the small group of French who answered English-language questionnaires. This latter finding reflects the fact that most of the French who did fill out English forms lived in predominantly English-speaking provinces, where, as will be noted later, French-speaking youth were somewhat more likely to hold strong convictions regarding bilingual goals for Canada.

The most interesting feature about these responses is that the discrepancies in rates of endorsement between English and French vary markedly on different issues. When the two largest subgroups are compared, for example, the differences show a considerable lack of consistency:

Attitude	Per cent by which endorsement by French exceeded endorsement by English
(1) Bilingual population an asset for Canada.....	+10
(2) Canada should have two official languages.....	+12
(3) Mandatory instruction in all schools.....	+21
(4) Individuals have obligation to become bilingual....	+24
(5) Bilingual road signs a good idea.....	+32

These figures indicate a widening divergence of sentiment on the spheres more suggestive of behavioral implications and of change. The two groups are not too far apart in their views on whether a bilingual population would be a good thing for Canada, nor in their acceptance of the existing constitutional position of French and English in Canadian society. They are considerably further apart, however, in their views on the teaching of two languages in school, and on the obligations that individuals have in becoming bilingual. And curiously, they are furthest apart of all in their attitudes regarding bilingual road signs. On face value this latter position would seem to constitute a relatively innocuous extension of French into English-Canadian life, and its implications for young people would certainly be less direct than would the elevation of French to the status of required instruction in school. On the other hand, of the five situations posed this one probably represents the most radical departure from current bilingual practices in English Canada, and it may simply be the novelty of the suggestion which produces the relatively low level of positive reaction among the English. Indeed, French is already widely taught in schools throughout English Canada whereas bilingual road signs are not found in many places outside of Quebec. These results would suggest, then, that the extension of French usage in English Canada would probably be less unacceptable to young English-Canadians when introduced through channels

where French is already to some degree established.

All in all the reactions of the English-speaking young people suggest on the one hand a fairly widespread acceptance and recognition that French has at least some role to play in Canadian life, but on the other, a substantial though by no means overwhelming degree of reluctance to see any extension of this role.

B. Variations in Levels of Commitment to Bilingualism

(i) Sex and Age

Next, we consider how linguistic attitudes vary among different subgroups of young people. To facilitate the analysis and reporting at this point, all five sets of responses are grouped together to form a single index of dispositions regarding bilingualism. This measure consists simply of the number of positions out of five which were endorsed in the direction indicating a favourable reaction to bilingualism. Such a step is justified by the fact that the responses on the different statements were found to be highly correlated with one another. Indeed, as indicated by the correlation matrices in Table III-2, extremely high levels of overlap are found between most pairs of responses for persons who answered both the English and French versions of the questionnaire.[1] This property allows us to infer that the set of statements probably does measure some common underlying disposition or reaction. As suggested earlier, there is some difficulty in naming this dimension precisely,

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[1]All of these relationships are statistically significant. Q is a non-parametric statistic, and can be interpreted as the percentage by which predictions about one attitude are improved over chance by knowing one's response on a second.

TABLE III-2

INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG ATTITUDES REGARDING BILINGUALISM

	Q Values				
A. Respondents who answered English language questionnaires					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(1) French and English should be required subjects in all Canadian schools.....	--	+.81	+.40	-.77	-.75
(2) It would be a good thing if all Canadians could speak both French and English.....	--	--	+.59	-.80	-.81
(3) It would be a good idea to have road signs printed in both English and French all over Canada.....	--	--	--	-.40	-.67
(4) There is no reason why an English-speaking Canadian should have to learn French if he is never going to use it.....	--	--	--	--	+.73
(5) As far as I'm concerned, Canada should have just one official language-- English.....	--	--	--	--	--
B. Respondents who answered French language questionnaires					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(1) Le Français et l'Anglais devraient être des sujets obligatoires dans toutes les écoles du Canada.....	--	+.87	+.70	-.63	-.73
(2) Ce serait une bonne idée si tous les Canadiens pouvaient parler Français et Anglais.....	--	--	+.81	-.55	-.74
(3) Ce serait une bonne idée si les panneaux routiers étaient rédigés en Anglais et en Français partout au Canada.....	--	--	--	-.38	-.36
(4) Un Canadien de langue française ne devrait pas avoir à apprendre l'Anglais s'il ne va jamais s'en servir.....	--	--	--	--	+.73
(5) En ce qui me concerne, le Canada ne devrait avoir qu'une seule langue officielle: le Français.....	--	--	--	--	--

but since for both language groups the reactions do reflect either favourable or unfavourable evaluations of bilingualism, we could at least label one's combined responses as an indicator of his "commitment to bilingualism." In addition, of course, for English-speaking respondents the scores can probably be interpreted as indicators of linguistic tolerance as well.

The scores which resulted from this operation are reported separately for boys and girls in Table III-3. First, it should be noted that 24 per cent of the English and 49 per cent of the French reacted favourably on all five statements, and that 47 per cent of the English and 76 per cent of the French endorsed at least four of the five positions. In later sections of the chapter, persons who responded favourably on at least four of the five measures will be represented as revealing a "high level" of commitment to bilingualism for Canada.

Table III-3 also indicates that boys and girls differ considerably in their overall attitudes regarding bilingualism. Within both language groups, it is the girls who show the higher rates of commitment, the discrepancy being somewhat more pronounced among the English than the French. Among English, 39 per cent of boys and 55 per cent girls show high commitment scores, while among French the comparable proportions are 72 and 79 per cent. It is difficult to say whether these discrepancies indicate sex-linked differences in socio-political values or whether they simply reflect differences in orientations to language learning. For example, it is often noted that girls show more aptitude for and interest in the humanistic and cultural realms of knowledge, while boys are more oriented and skillful in the theoretical and mechanical.[2]

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[2] In studies of measured intelligence, for example, males usually score higher on tests of mathematical reasoning and mechanical aptitude while females exceed males in vocabulary, verbal fluency and general language skills. David Wechsler, The Measurement of Adult Intelligence. 4th Edition, Williams and Wilkins, 1958.

It may be, then, that similar results would have been found had we measured attitudes towards the learning of any language.

TABLE III-3

LEVELS OF BILINGUAL COMMITMENT, by language spoken at home and sex

Number of Statements Endorsed Favourably	ENGLISH			FRENCH		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Five.....	20%[a]	29%	24%	45%	52%	49%
Four.....	19	26	23	27	27	27
Three.....	18	17	17	16	12	13
Two.....	16	14	15	6	4	5
One.....	14	8	11	4	4	4
None.....	14	6	10	2	2	2
Total	101	100	100	100	101	100
Base	(402)	(390)	(792)	(226)	(302)	(528)

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

Next, Table III-4 cross classifies age with rates of high commitment. Here, countervailing trends are found in the responses of the two groups. Among the English a slight but consistent diminution of commitment may be noted in each progressively older group, while among the French an equally

consistent trend is found in the opposite direction. Again inferring longitudinal change from cross-sectional evidence, the results suggest that as English-speaking young people pass through adolescence their tolerance for bilingualism decreases while over the same years French youth come to feel more strongly about the position of their language in Canadian society. Members of the two cultures thus emerge from the adolescent years a good deal further apart in their views on bilingualism than they were when they entered this phase of life.

Table III-4

COMMITMENT TO BILINGUALISM, by language spoken at home and age

Age	Per cent with a high commitment[a] English	French	Difference
13-14.....	51 (261)	73 (161)	-22
15-16.....	45 (260)	75 (162)	-30
17-18.....	45 (202)	77 (140)	-32
19-20.....	40 (68)	82 (60)	-42

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

(ii) Socio-economic Background

In Table III-5 rates of high commitment to bilingualism are reported in relation to three different indicators of socio-economic background: family income, father's occupation and father's schooling. These figures clearly demonstrate that ethnicity contributes more to the determination of these response levels than does social or economic position since in all comparisons the French have the markedly higher scores. English-French differences in attitudes regarding bilingualism, then, cannot be explained away simply as differences in the relative economic or social circumstances of the two groups.

The more revealing feature of these results, however, is in what they suggest regarding the relationship between social position and language attitudes. Among the English the social position of one's parents appears to have almost no impact at all on one's views regarding bilingualism. Rates of high commitment do not vary meaningfully along any of the three dimensions identified, and what little differences there are tend to be highly inconsistent. On income the highest rates are found among those from the poorest families, on education they occur among those whose fathers went furthest in school, while on occupation they are found among those with fathers employed as skilled tradesmen or foremen, a category neither high nor low on the occupational prestige ladder.

Among the French, the results show a slight degree of patterning, although here again the trends are not completely consistent. On two of the dimensions the rates are highest among persons from middle-status positions, by 4 per cent among those from middle-income families and by as much as 11 per cent among those with fathers employed in the white-collar occupational sector--

TABLE III-5

COMMITMENT TO BILINGUALISM, by language spoken at home and indicators of socio-economic position

	Per cent with a high commitment[a]		
A. Total family income	English	French	Difference
Under $4,000.....	51 (195)	71 (178)	- 20
$4,000 - 6,999.....	45 (307)	80 (178)	- 35
$7,000 and over.....	45 (195)	76 (70)	- 31
B. Father's occupation	English	French	Difference
Farmers.....	42 (62)	73 (70)	- 31
Semi-skilled and unskilled jobs.....	46 (215)	64 (151)	- 18
Skilled tradesmen.....	49 (182)	79 (136)	- 30
White-collar (proprietors, clerical and sales).....	48 (201)	90 (106)	- 42
Professional and managerial	44 (90)	74 (39)	- 30
C. Father's schooling	English	French	Difference
8 years or less.....	47 (272)	71 (309)	- 24
9 - 12 years.....	44 (301)	84 (129)	- 40
13 years or more.....	53 (111)	89 (53)	- 36

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

a category made up of small businessmen and clerical and sales workers. On father's education, on the other hand, the figures show an increment at each higher level of scholastic attainment.

On the whole, these findings suggest that demands for linguistic equality in the national community are strongest among French youth whose fathers are fairly well educated but who have achieved only a modest level of occupational and economic success. It is middle-class French youth, in short, who are most likely to manifest strong attitudes on the language issue, and because this higher level of commitment is not matched by a similar tendency among the English, it is middle-class young people from the two cultures who are furthest apart in their views on bilingualism in Canada. This tendency may be clearly noted in the third column of figures in Table III-5, where the levels of discrepancy between the French and English positions show their greatest magnitude in the middle categories rather than those at the top or the bottom. All in all, however, social origins cannot be said to have a very substantital impact on the outlook of either group on these issues.

(iii) Expectations Regarding Future Social Position

In an age of rapid social and technological change it is perhaps more meaningful to examine young people's attitudes in relation to the social positions to which they are headed rather than those from which they have come. These two sets of statuses are by no means independent of one another, of course, but it is nonetheless true that today's young people will stay in school considerably longer than their parents did, and that the Canadian labour force is rapidly changing shape.

Table III-6 relates levels of commitment to bilingualism with young people's occupational and educational aspirations, the former classifying

TABLE III-6

COMMITMENT TO BILINGUALISM, by language spoken at home and expectations regarding future socio-economic position

Per cent with high commitment[a]			
A. Educational expectations			
Total years of schooling respondent expects to attain	English	French	Difference
11 or less.....	40 (106)	69 (119)	- 29
12 or 13.....	40 (193)	69 (120)	- 29
14 or 15.....	46 (194)	79 (112)	- 33
16 or 17.....	54 (189)	82 (81)	- 28
18 or more.....	50 (105)	84 (78)	- 34
B. Occupational aspirations			
Line of work respondent hopes to enter eventually	English	French	Difference
Semi-skilled, unskilled or farmer.....	44 (101)	69 (59)	- 25
Skilled trade.....	34 (57)	74 (36)	- 40
White-collar.....	48 (135)	76 (74)	- 28
Professional or managerial....	51 (399)	81 (257)	- 30

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

respondents by the occupation or line of work they hope to enter eventually, and the latter by the total number of years of schooling they expect to attain. These results describe a rather different pattern from that which emerged when we looked at the social position of parents. Here, among members of both groups, commitment to bilingualism rises fairly consistently as educational expectations and occupational aspirations rise. These trends are neither sharp nor perfectly linear, but they do reveal enough regularity to suggest that in the next generation of young Canadian adults it will be those who are better educated and who occupy the more influential occupational positions who will be most strongly committed to bilingualism in the national community. Thus, to the extent that educational levels are rising in both English and French Canada, it can perhaps be inferred that overall levels of commitment to these goals are in a process of moderate ascendancy.

One dimension of considerable significance in the general study of ethnic tolerance and hostility is that of social mobility. Evidence has been repeatedly uncovered linking the degree and direction of social mobility with prejudice against minorities. Briefly reviewed, this evidence suggests first, that downward social mobility is usually accompanied by an increment of ethnic hostility; second, that rapid upward mobility because of its disruptive impact on the individual also works to increase prejudice; but third, that moderate upward mobility usually functions to increase tolerance.[3] Although inferences regarding social mobility cannot be made from the results shown in Table III-6, a direct measure of anticipated social mobility can be obtained from our data by classifying respondents simultaneously by their own

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[3]Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, Social Change and Prejudice, New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964, Chapter 2.

occupational aspirations and the occupations held by their fathers. From these cross-classifications, moreover, it is possible to extract a single measure which reflects the degree and direction of intergenerational mobility. To derive these measures both sets of occupational titles were first divided into four groups to roughly approximate different positions in the occupational prestige hierarchy. Professional and managerial occupations were placed at the top level of this scale, white-collar occupations at the second level, skilled trades third, and semi-skilled and unskilled occupations, plus farmers, at the bottom. When these two sets of occupational statuses are interrelated, individuals are classified by the hypothetical mobility measures shown in Table III-7. Thus, someone whose father was a plumber and who wanted to be an electronics engineer would be said to be aiming two steps upward; if the same individual's father had been a lawyer, however, he would be classified as occupationally stable rather than mobile. In this way, then, the resulting measures reflect only the stability or change in occupational level across the two generations.

TABLE III-7

METHOD OF ASSIGNING SCORES ON INDEX OF INTERGENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Direction and degree of occupational mobility				
Respondent's Occupational Aspirations	Father's Occupation			
	Professional or Managerial	White-Collar	Skilled Trades	Semi-Skilled or Unskilled Plus Farmers
Professional or managerial	STABLE	Up 1 step	Up 2 steps	Up 3 steps
White-collar	Down 1 step	STABLE	Up 1 step	Up 2 steps
Skilled trades	Down 2 steps	Down 1 step	STABLE	Up 1 step
Semi-skilled or unskilled work or farmer	Down 3 steps	Down 2 steps	Down 1 step	STABLE

The relationship between anticipated occupational mobility and attitudes regarding bilingualism is described for English-speaking boys in Table III-8. This analysis omits girls since for them occupational goals are clearly of less salience than they are for boys, and in addition because a large number of girls do not anticipate entry into the labour force. The analysis also excludes French-speaking boys since in their case attitudes regarding bilingualism are not being interpreted as indicators of ethnic tolerance.

For English-speaking boys, however, the findings are highly revealing and indicate confirmation for all three propositions drawn from the literature on prejudice. They show that the lowest rates of tolerance occur among boys anticipating downward occupational mobility, that rates of tolerance increase as we move into positions reflecting occupational stability and moderate upward mobility, and finally, that the upward trend falls off among boys expecting a great deal of upward mobility. These trends are again not of great magnitude, but they do confirm that moderate upward social mobility is associated with a greater readiness to endorse an extension of French into English Canada. This outcome would also suggest that at least for English-speaking boys reactions to bilingualism are probably pretty good indicators of more general dispositions regarding French-Canadians.

(iv) Province and Region

Besides ethnicity, the strongest predictor by far of commitment to bilingualism was found to be the geographic factor. This evidence is contained in Table III-9, where rates of high commitment are shown for English-speaking young people from five different regions, and for French youth living both inside and outside of Quebec.

TABLE III-8

COMMITMENT TO BILINGUALISM, by anticipated occupational mobility among English-speaking boys

Occupational Aspirations Compared with Father's Occupation	Per Cent Highly Committed to Bilingualism[a]	Base
Higher by three steps	39	(47)
Higher by two steps	43	(50)
Higher by one step	44	(100)
Stable	35	(101)
Lower by one or more steps	31	(29)

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

TABLE III-9

COMMITMENT TO BILINGUALISM, by language spoken at home and province or region

Province or Region	Per Cent Highly Committed to Bilingualism[a]	Base
A. English-speaking		
Quebec	61	(107)
Non-Quebec	46	(686)
Maritimes	63	(122)
Ontario	52	(291)
Prairies	35	(175)
British Columbia	28	(98)
B. French-speaking		
Quebec	74	(337)
Montreal metropolitan area.	72	(134)
Other Quebec	76	(203)
Non-Quebec	82	(192)

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

For the English sample, the figures describe a sharp lowering in favourable sentiment as one moves from east to west. This pattern is continuous from region to region and tends to accelerate as one moves further and further westward. Maritime youth, interestingly, show the highest rates of favourable attitudes, although these are only 2 per cent higher than among English-speaking Quebec youth. Moving westward, the sharpest drop-off occurs between Ontario and the Prairies, where rates fall from 52 per cent to 35 per cent. The trend then continues downward into British Columbia where only 28 per cent revealed highly favourable dispositions to the existence of two languages in Canada. For English-speaking youth, then, region clearly has an extremely powerful influence on attitudes regarding French-Canada.

When the two French-speaking groups are compared, slightly higher rates of commitment are found among those living outside of Quebec. This result is a little surprising since it is the Quebec French who have been the more vocal on issues of French-Canadian rights. On the whole, however, it would appear that strong feelings regarding the position and status of the French language in Canadian society are more widespread among French Canadian youth living in regions of predominantly English influence.

The overall pattern which emerges from these findings is that for both groups commitment to a bilingual Canada is stronger among persons living outside their region of cultural dominance. For the English, the rates were 15 per cent higher among those living in Quebec rather than elsewhere, and as just noted they were 8 per cent higher among French youth living in predominantly English-speaking provinces. The existence of such sharp regional variations suggests that attitudes regarding bilingualism may be

influenced to a significant degree by the extent of contact young people have with the other culture. The relationship between intergroup contacts and commitment to bilingualism will therefore be explored at length later in the chapter.

(v) Religion

For English-speaking young people attitudes on the language issue were also found to vary by religious background, Catholic respondents showing considerably more tolerant attitudes than their Protestant counterparts. This evidence is contained in Table III-10.

TABLE III-10

COMMITMENT TO BILINGUALISM AMONG ENGLISH-SPEAKING YOUNG PEOPLE, by religion and region

Region	Per cent highly committed to bilingualism[a] Catholics	Protestants	Difference
East (Maritime provinces).....	72 (51)	57 (63)	+ 15
Central (Quebec and Ontario)....	57 (150)	50 (211)	+ 7
West (Prairies and B.C.).....	43 (65)	30 (194)	+ 13
All Canada.....	57 (266)	42 (468)	+ 15

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

Religious groups tend to be distributed quite unevenly throughout Canada, however, and because of this it is necessary to assess the influence of religious background on a regional basis. Table III-10 shows in addition that for both Protestants and Catholics linguistic attitudes vary markedly from region to region. For both groups, levels of commitment are highest in the east and lowest in the west. Within all three regions Catholics are still found to have the higher rates of commitment, although the discrepancy is considerably less pronounced in central Canada than in the east or west. More importantly, however, the figures also indicate that Protestants from the Maritimes, Ontario and Quebec are more tolerant in their attitudes than are Catholics from western Canada. This demonstrates that the impact of region on bilingual attitudes is stronger than that of religion. It can therefore be concluded that both factors are related to attitudes on the language issue but that the influence of region is the more powerful. In combination region and religion produce extremely wide discrepancies in rates of commitment to bilingualism: favourable dispositions are more than twice as likely to be found among Eastern Catholics than Western Protestants.

C. Intergroup Contact

Information on intergroup contacts was obtained through four questions asking about exposure situations ranging from intimate personal relationships to casual contacts in the community at large. Respondents were asked whether they had any close friends or school classmates who spoke the other language at home, whether they lived near any families who spoke the other language, and how frequently they heard the other language spoken in their community--

other than through language classes at school. Two of these measures therefore deal with direct social relationships with individuals while the other two measure contacts in the wider social context of the neighborhood or community.

Just how much contact do English- and French-speaking young people have with one another? Since these contacts would be expected to vary markedly depending on where one lives in Canada, Table III-11 reports their incidence separately for respondents living in Quebec and in other regions of the country. These results all line up in the expected directions, and confirm that contacts are indeed more prevalent for the subgroups living outside their region of cultural dominance. On all measures the rates are higher for the English-speaking youth who live in Quebec and for the French young people living in provinces other than Quebec.

Table III-11 also shows that within regions of cultural dominance it is the French who are much more likely to experience contacts with the other culture. Comparing Quebec French with non-Quebec English, the French show rates which are 39 per cent higher on daily language exposure; 23 per cent higher on residential contacts; 19 per cent higher on contacts at school; and 19 per cent higher on friendship relationships. Within regions of cultural dominance, in short, English-speaking young people are much more isolated from the French than the French are from the English. This too fits well within what we would have anticipated.

The most revealing figures in Table III-11 are those indicating rates of exposure to spoken French among English-speaking youth. Among those living outside of Quebec, only 18 per cent reported hearing French spoken as often as once a week, and only 10 per cent reported daily exposure. By

TABLE III-11

FREQUENCY OF INTERGROUP CONTACTS, by language spoken at home and region

Type of Contact	English		French[a]	
	Quebec	Non-Quebec	Quebec	Non-Quebec
A. LANGUAGE EXPOSURE. Frequency of hearing the other language spoken in the community at large.				
Practically every day...	81%[b]	10%	49%	80%
Once or twice a week....	11	8	22	14
Less than once a week...	7	36	23	3
Never.....	1	47	6	3
Total.....	100	101	100	100
Base.....	(106)	(675)	(328)	(124)
B. RESIDENTIAL CONTACT. Know of a family living within about a half a mile who speak the other language.				
Yes.....	97%	39%	62%	74%
No.....	--	38	30	26
Not sure.....	3	24	8	--
Total.....	100	101	100	100
Base.....	(106)	(675)	(328)	(124)
C. CONTACT AT SCHOOL. Has classmate who speaks other language at home (or had one when last in school).				
Yes.....	67%	35%	54%	68%
No.....	26	57	42	27
Not sure.....	7	8	4	6
Total.....	100	100	100	101
Base.....	(106)	(675)	(328)	(124)
D. CLOSE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS. Has close friend who speaks other language at home.				
Yes.....	53%	26%	45%	72%
No.....	47	74	55	28
Total.....	100	100	100	100
Base.....	(106)	(675)	(328)	(124)

[a]Omits those who answered English language version of the questionnaire.

[b]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

comparison, considerably more reported contacts of other types. Eight per cent more said they had close friends who spoke French at home than reported even weekly exposure to spoken French (26 per cent compared with 18 per cent), and about twice as many said they interacted with French-Canadians either at school or in the neighborhood than said they heard French spoken this often. These discrepancies make it quite evident that whatever encounters do occur between French and English youth outside the province of Quebec would necessarily be transacted in the English language.

For Quebec-English the pattern of intergroup contacts is quite different. Here, as one might expect, environmental contacts are much more frequent than personal encounters, with the rates varying from levels of 97 and 81 per cent for residential contacts and daily language exposure, to levels of 67 and 53 per cent for school contacts and intimate personal encounters. As far as culture contacts are concerned, then, the main regional impact for English youth is in relation to language exposure. Daily exposure to spoken French varies between 10 and 81 per cent outside and inside of Quebec, a discrepancy which is both staggering in size and which is much larger than those occurring on other types of contact.

Turning now to the responses of the two French-speaking groups, the main feature to be noted here is that there is much less variation among the different types of encounters than was found for the English-speaking groups. For Quebec French, the most frequent encounters reported were in the school and neighborhood settings, but the rates of daily exposure to spoken English and of close interpersonal contacts were not markedly below these. For French living outside of Quebec, moreover, the variation was even narrower: here rates of contact were high in all four social contexts, and varied by only 12 percentage points across the four settings.

Additional insights regarding the nature of intergroup encounters for the two groups emerge when comparisons are made between the types of contacts experienced inside and outside of regions of cultural dominance. Earlier it was noted that Quebec French showed higher rates of contact than non-Quebec English on all four settings measured. This same pattern is not found for those living outside their region of cultural dominance. Comparisons between the non-Quebec French and the Quebec English indicate that while the two groups have approximately equal rates of daily language exposure and intergroup contacts at school, the English have considerably higher rates of residential contact (by 23 per cent) while the French have higher rates of direct interpersonal experiences through friendship relationships (by 19 per cent). These findings are interesting, and suggest that French-Canadian young people living outside of Quebec (at least those who still speak French at home) tend to be more segregated residentially than their English-speaking alternates who live in the heart of French Canada, while on the other hand, the Quebec English are more segregated socially than are French-Canadians living in the heart of English-Canada. Thus the nature of intergroup contacts for the two minorities tend to be rather different.

In the main the responses confirm what is invariably noted about patterns of contact between French and English in Canada. The average French-speaking young person is much more likely to contact the "other culture" than is his English-speaking counterpart, and this situation is produced primarily because rates of contact are much higher for Quebec French than for non-Quebec English.

Our principal concern at this point, of course, is with the question of how intergroup contacts affect attitudes regarding bilingualism. In

Table III-12, consequently, rates of high commitment are shown for those both exposed and unexposed to each type of contact. The most important single finding here is that in all cases a positive relationship exists between contact and commitment to bilingualism. In all fifteen situations in which an assessment can be made,[4] the higher rates of commitment are found among the exposed rather than the unexposed: this occurs among members of both language groups, and among those living in regions of both English and French influence.

Upon closer scrutiny, however, Table III-12 also shows rather marked discrepancies in levels of impact, with some contact situations producing much wider differences than others. To summarize these tendencies into a more reportable form, Table III-13 isolates a single measure of the impact of each situation. The indicator employed here is the Q coefficient of association between contact and commitment to bilingualism, a statistic which literally interpreted represents the percentage by which a prediction about level of commitment would be improved over chance by knowing whether or not intergroup contact had occurred. These measures show a considerable range in level, suggesting that intergroup contacts have a different impact on attitudes depending on who the respondent is, where the contact occurs, and what form the interaction takes.

What should our expectations be regarding the impact of these contacts? Drawing from the general results of race relations studies, a field

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[4]Because 97 per cent of the Quebec English reported residential contacts with French-speaking families, it is not meaningful nor indeed possible to assess the impact of these particular contacts.

TABLE III-12

COMMITMENT TO BILINGUALISM, by language spoken at home, region, and intergroup contacts

Type of Contract	Per cent highly committed to bilingualism[a]			
	English		French[b]	
	Quebec	Non-Quebec	Quebec	Non-Quebec
A. Daily language exposure				
Yes	62 (86)	71 (68)	83 (161)	86 (99)
No	48 (20)	43 (607)	64 (167)	63 (25)
B. Residential contacts				
Yes	62 (103)	51 (263)	77 (203)	86 (92)
No	-- (3)	46 (412)	64 (125)	70 (32)
C. Contacts at school				
Yes	65 (71)	50 (236)	81 (177)	88 (84)
No	49 (35)	45 (439)	63 (151)	66 (40)
D. Close personal relationships				
Yes	67 (56)	51 (176)	80 (148)	86 (89)
No	52 (50)	44 (499)	69 (180)	72 (35)

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

[b]Omits those who answered English language version of the questionnaire.

which while not directly applicable to the present situation is nonetheless the one which provides the most meaningful conceptual parallel, perhaps the most reasonable expectation would be that those situations in which the participants come together on terms of more or less equivalent status would be the ones which work most effectively to increase feelings of tolerance and acceptance.[5] At least for the English-speaking respondents, then, we might anticipate that encounters at school, or those based on friendship relationships would show the strongest impact on levels of favourable attitudes regarding bilingualism.

TABLE III-13

EFFECTS OF INTERGROUP CONTACTS ON COMMITMENT TO BILINGUALISM
by language spoken at home and region

Q coefficients between contact and commitment

Type of Contact	English		French[a]	
	Quebec	Non-Quebec	Quebec	Non-Quebec
A. Daily language exposure.....	+.28	+.53	+.47	+.57
B. Residential contacts.....	--[b]	+.10	+.31	+.45
C. Contacts at school.....	+.32	+.10	+.43	+.58
D. Close personal friends.....	+.30	+.14	+.28	+.41

[a]Omits those who answered English language version of the questionnaire.

[b]Not enough variation in exposure to allow computation.

[5]The most pertinent results from the race relations field, of course, come from studies of Negro-White relations in the United States, and it would be grossly misleading to suggest any simple connection between the American and Canadian situations. Moreover, in recent years the applicability of the "equal status" hypothesis has come into some question. Evidence from recent studies suggests that it may be valid only within certain specified types of equal status contact. See George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, "The Sociology of Race and Ethnic Relations," in Merton et al. (eds.), Sociology Today. New York, Basic Books Inc., 1959, p. 397.

This expectation, however, is not borne out by the figures in Table III-13. Although for Quebec English the personal contact situations do show the slightly higher impact scores, among the other three aggregates it is not interpersonal contacts but daily language exposures in the community at large which have the strongest influence in elevating levels of commitment to bilingualism. This is particularly evident among the non-Quebec English, where language contact constitutes the only form of encounter which makes any sizeable impact at all on these dispositions.

This result suggests that it is the demographic rather than the interpersonal environment which has the more powerful influence on dispositions regarding bilingualism--at least for groups other than the Quebec English. Outside of Quebec, tolerant linguistic attitudes among English-speaking young people are much more a function of living in a community where French can be heard than of having individual face-to-face contacts with French-speaking friends or classmates. Indeed, when direct social contacts occur in areas where little French is spoken, they would appear to do little to impress the English-speaking participants of the necessity of extending bilingualism throughout Canada.

This outcome is curious sociologically, but can perhaps be interpreted through inferences regarding the quality of typical French-English interactions in English-speaking Canada. As already suggested, most contacts in these regions would undoubtedly be transacted almost exclusively in English, and in addition would probably involve French participants who for the most part speak English without much trace of accent. From the point of view of the English-speaking participants, then, it is possible that the French with whom they have contact would be viewed as pretty much assimilated into the

English-speaking community, and perhaps even uncommitted to the preservation of their cultural identity. It would be more understandable, in any event if contacts of this type failed to register much connection with the issue of bilingualism in Canada.

In communities where spoken French is more frequently heard, on the other hand, the language issue would be much more visible. Thus, when personal contacts occur in these types of settings, they would be expected to have a stronger impact on attitudes regarding bilingualism. This in fact does appear to be the case, since the data indicate that interpersonal contacts were much more likely to affect the views of the Quebec English than those of English-speaking youth living elsewhere in Canada.

For French youth, intergroup contacts of all types have stronger effects when they occur in regions of English rather than French influence. Non-Quebec French not only feel more strongly about the issue of a bilingual Canada, but are more likely to have their convictions strengthened by culture contacts. This probably reflects the fact that language survival is a more immediate problem outside of Quebec, and that intergroup contacts in English-speaking regions simply function to reinforce this realization.

In conclusion, there does not appear to be any single manner in which intergroup contacts affect attitudes regarding bilingualism. The effects, rather, depend on the type of external environment in which the contact takes place. For English youth, interpersonal encounters in regions of predominantly English influence do little to increase tolerance for or commitment to bilingualism; for French youth in these same regions, on the other hand, contacts greatly strengthen language convictions. In English-speaking Canada, therefore, there is a considerable imbalance in the effects

intergroup exchanges have on members of the two cultures. This differential is much less marked in Quebec. English-speaking youth in Quebec are not only more tolerant on the language question but seem more ready to increase their responsiveness to this issue when they come into direct face-to-face contact with members of the other culture. Finally, it would appear that the "equal status" hypothesis of the race relations fields does not have general applicability to the Canadian situation. Intergroup contacts among status equals do not have much impact on English-speaking young people unless they take place in settings where there is a sizeable French-speaking population.

D. Bilingual Facility

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to an appraisal of levels of bilingual facility among young people. Information on language skills was obtained by asking respondents to rate their speaking ability in the second language into one of five categories ranging from full fluency to a complete lack of awareness. These responses are reported regionally in Table III-14, and on preliminary inspection appear to conform quite well to what might have been anticipated. They describe rather low overall levels of bilingualism among young people, but do indicate that claims regarding such facility were more prevalent among French than English.

Before interpreting these data it is necessary to point out that seventy-eight French-speaking young people filled out the English-language version of the questionnaire and were therefore asked to rate their facility in French rather than in English. Thus a small but significant group of French youth are not accounted for in these figures. There is no sure way of determining how these persons would have actually rated their spoken

TABLE III-14

CLAIMS REGARDING FACILITY IN SECOND LANGUAGE, by language spoken at home and region

Per cent giving different responses[a]

A. French[b]

Self-ratings on Facility in English	Quebec			Non-Quebec	Total
	Montreal Met Area (N=131)	Other Quebec (N=197)	Total (N=328)	(N=124)	(N=452)
Can speak it without any trouble at all	20	7	12	40	16
Can carry on a conversation but not easily	29	21	24	40	26
Can speak a little but not enough to carry on a conversation	24	34	30	13	28
Know a few words and phrases	20	22	22	6	20
Know hardly a word	6	15	12	1	11
Total	99	99	100	100	101

B. English

Self-ratings on Facility in French	Maritimes (N=116)	Quebec (N=106)	Ontario (N=289)	Prairies (N=174)	B.C. (N=96)	Total (N=781)
Can speak it without any trouble at all	(.2)	11	3	--	1	2
Can carry on a conversation but not easily	13	59	25	24	17	23
Can speak a little but not enough to carry on a conversation	41	23	28	35	26	31
Know a few words and phrases	29	6	23	22	23	23
Know hardly a word	17	1	21	20	33	21
Total	100	100	100	101	100	100

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

[b]Omits those who answered English language version of the questionnaire.

English, but the fact that they received a questionnaire from an English-speaking interviewer and then filled it out in English suggests that most would have rated themselves highly. If we were to assume that all of these persons would rate themselves at either the highest or second highest levels of facility, then the overall proportion of French claiming conversational skills in English would be elevated from 42 to 47 per cent. Among Quebec French it would rise from 36 to 37 per cent; and for those living outside of Quebec it would go up from 80 to 87 per cent. Table III-14 thus under-represents the proportion of French youth who would rate themselves as bilingual.

It is clear, nonetheless, that the non-Quebec French constitute the only group in which a sizeable proportion claimed to be fully at ease in the second language. About two-fifths of these persons claimed they could speak English without any difficulty at all, and by contrast only 11 per cent of the Quebec English claimed a similar level of facility in spoken French. Virtually no English-speaking youth living outside of Quebec said they could speak French without trouble, and it is striking that as many as a third from British Columbia and about a fifth from other English-speaking provinces admitted to knowing hardly a word of French. By comparison only 12 per cent of the Quebec French admitted a complete lack of knowledge of English.

If functional bilingualism were defined here as the ability to carry on a conversation in the other language, then rates of functional bilingualism could be said to vary greatly among English-speaking youth living in different parts of Canada. These aggregates would be estimated at 13 per cent in the Maritimes; 70 per cent among Quebec English; 28 per cent among Ontarians; 24 per cent among young people living in Prairie provinces; and

at 18 per cent among those from British Columbia.[6] Self-ratings on facility in French were therefore lowest of all among young people from the Maritimes. This is surprising for two reasons: first, because the Maritime French population is larger than in any other English-speaking region of Canada; and second, because Maritime youth revealed the highest level of tolerance of any English-speaking group on the issue of bilingualism in Canada. The dilemma, then, is that the group indicating the highest level of tolerance for French is also the group claiming to be least skillful at speaking it. For Maritime young people favourable attitudes regarding a bilingual Canada clearly do not depend on the ability to communicate in French.

In overview, then, many more French than English rated themselves as functionally bilingual, and this was true for groups living both in their region of cultural dominance and outside of it. Adding in the French youth who answered English-language questionnaires, rates of functional bilingualism among French and English would be estimated at 37 and 23 per cent for those living in their region of cultural dominance, and at 87 and 70 per cent for those living outside these regions. From these same four estimates, moreover, it is possible to calculate the probabilities that any random pair of young people meeting either in Quebec or elsewhere in Canada would be able to communicate with one another, and in which language or languages they would be able to talk to one another. These probabilities are shown

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[6]These estimates are of course very much higher than official census figures on bilingual persons in Canada. Part of the discrepancy here would be accounted for by the fact that rates of bilingualism probably are in fact higher among young Canadians than they are in the population as a whole, and part by the fact that the present measures do not constitute very stringent criteria on which to classify persons as bilingual.

in Table III-15, and reveal three general conditions governing possible modes of intergroup communication in English and French Canada. First, they indicate that more communication is possible in English-speaking Canada than in Quebec since participants would be able to talk to one another in 90 per cent of all possible interactions occurring outside of Quebec, but in just 81 per cent of those occurring in Quebec. This discrepancy is produced by the fact that among persons living outside their region of cultural dominance a greater proportion of French than English are bilingual. Second, more transactions occurring in Quebec than in English-speaking provinces could be conducted in either language (26 per cent compared with 20 per cent). This result in turn is produced by the fact that within regions of cultural dominance more French than English claim to be bilingual. Finally, the figures clearly indicate that the mode of communication most possible in either setting would be the dominant language of the region. These tendencies are by no means balanced, however, since in English-speaking provinces 67 per cent of all possible interactions could be transacted in English only while in Quebec the comparable figure for French language communication is just 44 per cent.

TABLE III-15

MODES OF COMMUNICATION POSSIBLE BETWEEN FRENCH AND ENGLISH SPEAKING YOUNG PEOPLE, by region

Probabilities governing random intergroup contacts between two individuals		
Language in which transactions could take place	Quebec	Non-Quebec
Either English or French	.26	.20
English only	.11	.67
French only	.44	.03
Neither English nor French	.19	.10
Sum of probabilities	1.00	1.00

These figures indicate the broad parameters governing how much communication of each type is possible in the two regions, but being hypothethical they of course cannot be represented as a description of what actually occurs in intergroup contacts. Indeed, the central premise underlying their calculation is somewhat unrealistic in that it assumes that any individual from one linguistic background would have an equal chance of interacting with every person in his region who speaks the other language. The real impact of the ethnic differential in ability to communicate in the other language is more sharply demonstrated when comparisons are made between the language skills of persons having varying degrees of actual intergroup contact. These data are presented in Table III-16, where levels of functional bilingualism are shown in relation to the four types of contact discussed previously. This table indicates, interestingly, that rates of bilingualism are virtually the same among English and French young people who do not have contact with the other culture, and that the real differential between the two groups emerges only when members of the two cultures interact with one another. For these latter aggregates, however, bilingual skills are considerably more prevalent among the French: they are 12 per cent higher among those experiencing daily exposure to the other language; 22 per cent higher among those having residential contacts; 26 per cent higher among those having contact at school; and 27 per cent higher among those who say they have a close friend who speaks the other language. These results clearly demonstrate that when French- and English-speaking young people meet, the adjustments which each make to solve the problem of communication are far from reciprocal.

TABLE III-16

FACILITY IN SECOND LANGUAGE, by language spoken at home and frequency of intergroup contact

Type of Contact	Per cent who claim to be functionally bilingual[a] English	French[b]	Difference
A. Daily language exposure			
Yes	47 (154)	59 (260)	- 12
No	22 (627)	23 (192)	- 1
B. Residential contacts			
Yes	32 (366)	54 (295)	- 22
No	20 (415)	20 (157)	NIL
C. Contacts at school			
Yes	29 (307)	55 (261)	- 26
No	23 (474)	25 (191)	- 2
D. Close personal relationships			
Yes	32 (232)	59 (237)	- 27
No	22 (549)	26 (215)	- 4

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

[b]Omits French who answered English language version of the questionnaire.

The ability to converse in the second language also correlates positively with attitudes regarding bilingualism, as is indicated by Table III-17. Here rates of high commitment are seen to be 17 per cent higher among English youth who can communicate in French than among those who cannot, and similarly are 16 per cent higher among the bilingual French. The effect of language facility on these attitudes is therefore quite strong and would appear to be approximately the same among members of both ethnic groups. Ethnicity does have a more powerful influence than bilingual facility, however, since the rates among unilingual French are 9 per cent higher than among bilingual English (68 compared with 59 per cent) The ethnic differential is nonetheless smaller than most which have been uncovered so far.

TABLE III-17

COMMITMENT TO BILINGUALISM, by language spoken at home and self-ratings on facility in other language

Commitment Measure	English		French	
	Facility High	Facility Low	Facility High[a]	Facility Low
Per cent highly committed to bilingualism for Canada[b]	59 (239)	42 (536)	84 (295)	68 (232)

[a]Includes persons who filled out English language version of the questionnaire.

[b]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

To recapitulate, favourable attitudes regarding bilingualism for Canada appear to be affected quite strongly by both intergroup contact and the ability to communicate in the second language. To conclude this chapter, then, it would be meaningful to assess the combined impact of these two factors, and to try to determine which one contributes more to the development of positive dispositions on the language issue. This assessment can be made from the figures in Table III-18 where rates of bilingual commitment are examined simultaneously by language spoken at home, facility in the second language and experiences with different types of intergroup contact. Because this table is complex the results will be reviewed point by point:

(1) First, the figures clearly demonstrate that the combination of facility and contact produces greatly elevated rates of bilingual commitment. A comparison of the conditions where both attributes are present with those where both are absent indicates an average percentage difference of 29.5 for the English and of 23.0 for the French.

(2) Next, comparisons among the figures which reflect the amount contributed by each factor independently indicate that for English rates of commitment are elevated an average of 16.4 percentage points by language facility, and an average of 13.1 points by the presence of contact. For French the comparable figures are 11.8 and 10.0. With each group, then, both factors make a substantial contribution to the overall differential, with language facility accounting for just slightly over one-half of the combined variance.

(3) Third, although all 16 comparisons between English and French show the French to be higher on commitment to bilingualism, Table III-18 contains conditions in which the rates among English exceed those among

TABLE III-18

COMMITMENT TO BILINGUALISM, by language spoken at home, facility in second language, and frequency of intergroup contact

Type of Contact	Per cent highly committed to bilingualism for Canada[a]			
	English		French[b]	
	Facility High	Facility Low	Facility High	Facility Low
A. Daily language exposure				
Yes	75 (98)	63 (81)	87 (167)	79 (87)
No	54 (135)	40 (449)	75 (42)	61 (136)
B. Residential contacts				
Yes	69 (160)	44 (239)	86 (177)	70 (112)
No	48 (74)	41 (292)	75 (32)	66 (111)
C. Contacts at school				
Yes	66 (129)	45 (204)	90 (159)	74 (99)
No	54 (105)	41 (326)	68 (47)	64 (124)
D. Close personal relationships				
Yes	72 (114)	43 (159)	85 (154)	75 (76)
No	52 (118)	42 (369)	82 (54)	65 (146)

[a] All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

[b] Omits French who answered English language version of the questionnaire.

French. For example, in all four situations of contact the bilingual English youth who have contact show a higher level of bilingual commitment than French young people who are neither bilingual nor have contact with English. This demonstrates, then, that the combined influence of facility and contact has a stronger effect on these attitudes than does ethnicity.

(4) Fourth, the results also indicate that English and French opinion tends to converge in situations where bilingual young people have contact with one another, and is furthest apart in situations where contact occurs among persons unable to communicate in the other language. English-French differences across the four sets of combined statuses average out to 16.5 per cent among those having both contact and facility, 25.5 per cent among those who are bilingual but have no contact, 25.8 per cent where contact occurs without bilingual facility, and 23.0 per cent where neither condition is present.

(5) Finally, the results indicate once again that some types of intergroup contact have stronger effects than others. Among both groups daily language exposure affects bilingual attitudes more strongly than language facility does, while facility has stronger effects than either residential contacts or close interpersonal contacts. With regard to contracts at school, however, the results are inconsistent: for English youth language facility has an influence which supersedes that of school contact while among the French the influence order is reversed.

To sum up, bilingual skills are quite unevenly distributed among Canadian young people just as they are among Canadian adults. This imbalance characterizes only those who have contact with the other culture, however;

among those isolated from these contacts almost identical proportions of French and English claim conversational facility in the second language. When young people from the two linguistic backgrounds come together, then, it is the French who make the greater linguistic adjustment, and the language of intergroup transactions thus becomes predominantly English. Attitudes regarding bilingual goals for Canada are greatly influenced both by facility in the second language and by having contact with members of the other group. Young people who have the chance to converse in the second language and have developed the facility for doing so are much more likely to endorse the virtues of a bilingual national community.

CHAPTER IV

ATTITUDES REGARDING BILINGUALISM--II: PERCEIVED FUNCTIONS OF BEING BILINGUAL

In this next chapter the discussion shifts from an emphasis on attitudes regarding bilingual goals for Canadian society at large to consider how young people assess the importance of bilingual skills in their own lives. It should already be clear, of course, that these two perspectives are by no means completely independent of one another. Indeed, the fact that positive attitudes regarding bilingualism for the national community were much more prevalent among those who claimed to be bilingual themselves--and who indicated an opportunity to use these skills in their social relationships--would suggest that young people evaluate the national language issue from an essentially pragmatic point of view.

The present chapter has three specific goals: first, to find out how useful young people think facility in the second language would be to them--both in their present lives and in the future; second, to assess the different ways they feel bilingual skills would be helpful; and finally, to determine whether attitudes regarding bilingual goals for Canada do in fact represent an extension of the feelings young people have regarding the functions of bilingualism in their own lives.

A. The Utility of Being Bilingual--Present and Future

On the basis of the results already reviewed, it is of no surprise at all to learn that French-speaking young people place a much higher emphasis than their English-speaking counterparts on the value of being bilingual.

Table IV-1 indicates extremely wide discrepancies in these evaluations.[1] Although both groups think that bilingual skills will be more useful to them as young adults than as teen-agers, the French make considerably higher evaluations on both time perspectives. Moreover, comparing thoughts about the present and the future, the numbers estimating daily usage rise just 7 per cent among the English while they go up 22 per cent among the French. Altogether six French youth in ten expect to use the other language every day as young adults, a rate roughly three times higher than that found among the English. Nonetheless, as many as half the English youth (51 per cent) did think they would be able to use French "often" in their future lives, and this does represent a sizeable increment over the number who made a similar evaluation about their present circumstances.

Table IV-1 also indicates that among the English slightly more girls than boys rated bilingual facility as useful--both in thinking about the present and the future. This tendency is reversed among the French, however: 7 per cent more boys than girls said they could use English every day in their present lives, and 5 per cent more thought they could do so in the future. For the French, the most reasonable interpretation of these discrepancies is that more boys than girls feel they need to know English as preparation for entry into the labour force. It is somewhat less clear, however, why facility in French should be viewed as more useful by English-speaking girls. It may be true that more girls than boys choose language courses in high school and college, but this would hardly explain why the discrepancies also appear in the ratings of future uses. These differences are modest, of course, and as such do not warrant elaborate explanation.

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[1]The table reviews answers given to questions 29 and 30.

TABLE IV-1

PERCEIVED UTILITY OF BILINGUAL SKILLS--PRESENT AND FUTURE, by language spoken at home and sex

Per cent making different evaluations regarding how useful it would be to be able to speak the other language--or speak it better[a]

Evaluations	English			French[b]		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
A. UTILITY AT PRESENT						
Very useful: I could use it every day	11	13	12	42	35	38
Quite useful: I could use it often but not every day	19	22	20	38	44	41
Slightly useful: I could use it sometimes but not very often ...	39	44	42	19	19	19
Not useful at all: I don't think I'd ever use it	31	21	26	1	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	(398)	(382)	(780)	(199)	(252)	(451)
B. UTILITY IN TEN YEARS						
Very useful: I could use it every day	16	21	19	63	58	60
Quite useful: I could use it often but not every day	31	33	32	29	29	29
Slightly useful: I could use it sometimes but not very often ...	32	32	32	6	11	9
Not useful at all: I don't think I'd ever use it	20	13	17	2	2	2
Total	99	99	100	100	100	100
Base	(398)	(382)	(780)	(199)	(252)	(451)

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

[b]Omits French who answered English language version of the questionnaire.

Another problem of interpretation here, and a much more serious one, is to decide whether the elevated expectations regarding language uses in the future mean, on the one hand, that young people think their lives and experiences will be different when they are in their twenties, or on the other, that they think bilingual practices will be more prevalent in Canada in 1975 than they were in 1965. There is no completely satisfactory way of resolving this dilemma from the available data, although some insights can be gained by examining the assessments made by young people of different ages.

Table IV-2 summarizes the responses of persons in four different age groups and orders the results so as to highlight the comparisons between present and future evaluations. These data show, first, that ratings do indeed change with age. Among the English, estimates of bilingual utility are quite a bit lower among older adolescents, with the drop-off being somewhat sharper on evaluations regarding the future than on those pertaining to the present. This would suggest that the net impact of the adolescent years on English-speaking young people is to convince additional numbers that they really don't need to be able to speak French in order to get along in Canadian life.

Among the French, extremely high proportions in all age categories rated the ability to speak English as a highly useable skill. On present uses the evaluations do not show any meaningful variation with age. In thinking ahead ten years, however, older French youth did not make as universally high estimates as did their juniors.

Table IV-2 contains two additional columns of figures, the first indicating the absolute percentage difference between present and future evaluations, and the second representing a standardized measure on which to assess

TABLE IV-2

PERCEIVED UTILITY OF BILINGUAL SKILLS--PRESENT AND FUTURE, by language spoken at home and age

Age	Per cent who say they would be able to use the other language "often"[a] Present Utility	Utility in Ten Years	Difference	Index of Expected Change
A. ENGLISH				
13 - 14	34 (260)	58 (260)	+24	+.36
15 - 16	35 (255)	49 (255)	+14	+.22
17 - 18	33 (196)	48 (196)	+15	+.22
19 - 20	26 (68)	43 (68)	+17	+.23
B. FRENCH[b]				
13 - 14	78 (128)	95 (128)	+17	+.78
15 - 16	80 (149)	88 (149)	+ 8	+.40
17 - 18	79 (120)	86 (120)	+ 7	+.33
19 - 20	81 (50)	85 (50)	+ 4	+.21

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

[b]Omits French who filled out English language version of the questionnaire.

the net change expected by each group. This latter measure is calculated by dividing the actual increase by the total increase possible, thus controlling for the fact that the absolute numbers who could expect elevated uses in the future are much larger in some groups than in others. These figures in the main describe decreasing values among the older age groups, which in turn means that there are proportionately fewer older adolescents who rate future uses above present. For example, among French-speaking thirteen- and fourteen-year olds, more than three-quarters of those who don't feel much use for English in their present circumstances anticipate that this situation will change by the time they become young adults; among nineteen-and twenty-year olds, on the other hand, only 21 per cent anticipate such changes. Among the English these measures do not decline as sharply with age as they do among the French, but it is clear at least that by the age of fifteen considerably fewer anticipate change.

More generally, these results suggest that as young people grow closer to adulthood they more and more come to estimate their future uses for bilingual facility on the basis of their current experiences. And to the extent that older adolescents probably know better what adult life will be like, it can perhaps be argued that a substantial proportion of the overall discrepancy between estimates of present and future uses for bilingual skills stems from uncertainty about one's own future--rather than from expectations regarding changing bilingual practices in Canadian society.

Once again these findings describe pretty much what might have been anticipated, yet one cannot but be impressed at the extent to which young people from the two cultures differ in their expectations regarding language usage. Virtually all French young people enter adolescence fully cognizant

that a speaking ability in English is of prime importance to their future, and their experiences during adolescence would appear to do little other than to reinforce this understanding. During these same years, on the other hand, a fairly sizeable number of English-speaking young people seem to develop the outlook that their use for French will cease once they have completed their high-school language requirements. For members of one group, in short, adolescence heightens an awareness of the necessity of being bilingual, while for the other it teaches that bilingualism is something not really expected of them.

On a more optimistic note, it must also be pointed out that a fairly substantial number of English-speaking young people do see a use for bilingual skills in the future. Even among those about to become old enough to vote better than two in five said they expected to use French often by 1975, and this constitutes 17 per cent more than saw much use for the second language in their present lives. It is perhaps not unreasonable to conclude, then, that a fairly significant minority of English-speaking young people--perhaps as many as a sixth--do expect changing bilingual practices in Canada to have a direct bearing on their own lives.

Evaluations concerning bilingual utility would also be expected to show considerable variation by region, and Table IV-3 demonstrates that this is indeed the case. On current usage, 93 per cent of French youth living in English-speaking provinces regarded facility in English as highly useful, compared with 83 per cent of the Montreal area French and 73 per cent of those living in other parts of Quebec. And among the English, similarly, while four-fifths of those living in Quebec recognized a frequent use for French, considerably fewer from regions of English-language dominance did so.

The rates tumble to approximately a third in the regions adjacent to Quebec, to about a quarter on the Prairies, and to just 13 per cent on the west coast.

TABLE IV-3

PERCEIVED UTILITY OF BILINGUAL SKILLS--PRESENT AND FUTURE, by language spoken at home and province or region

Language and Region	Per cent who said they would be able to use the other language "often"[a] Present Utility	Utility in Ten Years	Difference	Index of Expected Change
A. FRENCH[b]				
Quebec (N=328) ..	77	87	+10	+.44
Montreal met. area (N=131)...	83	87	+ 4	+.24
Other Quebec (N=197)	73	88	+15	+.56
Non-Quebec (N=124)	93	97	+ 4	+.57
B. ENGLISH				
Maritimes (N=116)	33	51	+18	+.27
Quebec (N=106)...	79	84	+ 5	+.24
Ontario (N=289)..	36	52	+16	+.22
Prairies (N=174).	28	48	+20	+.28
British Columbia (N=96)	13	41	+28	+.32

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

[b]Omits French who answered English-language version of the questionnaire.

Table IV-3 also reveals sharp discrepancies in the rates at which different groups of young people expect to acquire future language needs they do not realize as teen-agers, these being considerably higher among the non-Quebec French and the Quebec French living outside the Montreal metropolitan area. Other than in the Montreal area, then, it could be concluded that proportionately more French than English anticipate increasing uses for bilingual facility in the future--even though in absolute numbers more English than French do so. Finally, rates of expected change are also seen to be slightly higher among English-speaking youth from British Columbia, the region where current uses of French are rated the lowest.

B. The Functions of Being Bilingual

A fairly recurrent theme in discussions of bilingualism in Canada is that members of the two cultures reflect quite different orientations toward learning the second official language. English-speaking Canadians, it is said, learn French mainly to broaden their cultural horizons whereas French-Canadians learn English out of practical necessity. This distinction has most recently found expression in the preliminary report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, where it was observed that at regional meetings English- and French-speaking participants did not share the same concepts regarding the function and influence of the second language. Indeed, "the former saw in the French language essentially a form of cultural enrichment, whereas the latter looked upon English as a tool of practical necessity."[2]

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[2]Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, A Preliminary Report. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1965, p. 84.

In recent studies of language learning,[3] distinctions have also been noted between "integrative" and "instrumental" orientations to the learning of a new language. A person is said to reflect an "integrative" orientation when his motivation is based on a desire to interact with members of the other language group, of if it is simply to learn more about the other group. An "instrumental" orientation, on the other hand, is said to exist when the new language is to be used as a stepping-stone to some other goal, such as getting a job.

This distinction provides a useful framework for discussing the functions which young people assign to bilingual facility. In addition to making general assessments of bilingual utility, respondents also rated how helpful they thought these skills would be in relation to nine specific behavioral contexts (see question 31 in Appendix B). Although this list contained just one situation which could meaningfully be represented as a "cultural enrichment" function of language learning, namely, the use of the second language for reading or television viewing, several of the situations clearly reflect integrative and instrumental functions. Learning the second language for purposes of getting better grades, for finding a job, or for advancing in a career all represent stepping-stone functions of language acquisition, while learning it to talk to friends, to make new friends, or

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[3] R. C. Gardner and W. E. Lambert, "Motivational Variables in Second Language Acquisition," Canadian Journal of Psychology, XIII, 1959, pp. 266-72.

M. Anisfeld and W. E. Lambert, "Social and Psychological Variables in Learning Hebrew," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LXIII, 1961, pp. 524-29.

W. E. Lambert, A Study of the Roles of Attitudes and Motivations in Second Language Learning. Montreal, McGill University, 1961.

for purposes of dating are clearly "integrative" uses. At the very least, then, these data allow a good test case for the proposition that French-Canadians are more likely to stress instrumental reasons for learning the second official language.

Table IV-4 shows the rates at which members of the two groups endorsed each situation as one in which bilingual facility would be helpful. These responses are ordered according to the magnitude of the discrepancies between the two groups. The table indicates, first, that although French youth gave considerably higher ratings on six of the nine contexts, the two groups were not grossly different in the relative importance they assigned the various uses. Among the English the three most frequently cited used for French were for traveling, improving grades in school, and finding employment; among French employment-seeking uses were rated highest, travel functions second highest, and career advancement functions third. Moreover both groups rated the functions of dating and talking with friends lowest, and the overall rank-order correlation between the two listings reflected a high degree of correspondence (rho=+.76: not shown in table). This outcome, in short, is quite inconsistent with an expectation regarding differing orientations to language learning.

The most direct evidence on which to test the proposition, however, is contained in the six situations which most clearly represent the instrumental and integrative uses of language; items 1, 5, and 8 on the one hand, and 3, 4, and 9 on the other. Here again, however, the data indicate little support for the hypothesis. Although the groups are furthest apart in their assessment of the value of bilingualism for career advancement, the third and fourth widest discrepancies are found in situations which reflect

integrative uses--dating and talking with friends. In addition, identical numbers of French and English cited making new friends as a way in which bilingual facility would be helpful, and virtually identical proportions felt these skills would help them improve their academic standing. Both comparisons are again inconsistent with the general hypothesis. All in all, then, one could not conclude from these results that French- and English-speaking young people differ radically in the kinds of benefits they think they would gain from being bilingual.

TABLE IV-4

PERCEIVED FUNCTIONS OF BILINGUAL FACILITY, by language spoken at home

Per cent who say a better speaking knowledge of the second language would be helpful in this way[a]			
Functions	English (N=781)	French[b] (N=452)	Difference
(1) In getting ahead in the line of work I hope to enter	49	83	-34
(2) In reading or watching television	49	80	-31
(3) In going out on dates	21	51	-30
(4) In talking with my friends	24	49	-25
(5) In finding a job	67	92	-25
(6) In getting around to more places in my community	30	52	-22
(7) In traveling to different parts of Canada	86	89	- 3
(8) In getting better grades in school	68	71	- 3
(9) In making new friends	63	63	NIL

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

[b]Omits French who filled out English language version of the questionnaire.

At the same time, however, the discrepancies are by no means identical, and the table does indicate some functions on which the groups made widely divergent assessments and others on which they did not differ at all. One tendency of considerable interest here is that while many more French than English perceived bilingual skills as helpful in relation to occupational considerations, the discrepancies between the groups were wider on assessments of career advancement uses than on employment-seeking ones. This suggests that French young people have a relatively greater propensity to perceive a long-term occupational relevance for bilingual facility, and that English youth in this regard think of bilingual skills mainly as credentials for entering the labour market. This tendency is consistent with earlier findings and suggests in turn that the real difference between the groups regarding instrumental perspectives on language is in relation to the future. Of the three indicators reflecting task performance, for example, getting better grades in school is clearly the most immediate, finding a job comes next, and career advancement is the most remote. And it is across these three stages or time periods that the groups become differentiated from one another: indeed, the discrepancies increase from 3 to 25 to 34 per cent as the evaluations become more removed from present circumstances. In terms of long-range uses, then, French youth could definitely be said to reflect a higher sensitivity to the instrumental functions of bilingualism. These data also support the interpretation that for many English-speaking young people completion of language courses at school eliminates one of the main tangible reasons for being bilingual.

Table IV-4 also reveals that many more French youth than English evaluated bilingual facility as useful for purposes of reading and television

viewing. This outcome is somewhat surprising since if cultural enrichment really does represent the dominant motivation of English-speaking Canadians in learning French one would have expected the discrepancy here to be at least relatively smaller than on other evaluations. Of the nine sets of ratings, however, the two groups differed more widely on just one. This would suggest either that the general hypothesis is invalid for young people, or that reading and television viewing are simply not used by young people as modes of cultural enrichment. Another possibility too is that the question itself conveyed different meanings to members of the two language groups. For English-speaking young people, for example, reading French or viewing French language television programs might very well be interpreted as ends in themselves, things one would do for no other reason than the intrinsic satisfaction involved. For French youth, on the other hand, similar exposures to English might represent ways of learning things one would need to know in order to achieve some ulterior goal--such as getting a job in an English- or American-owned company. It is possible, in short, that the very same language uses might denote quite different things to members of the two cultures.

To evaluate this latter possibility more systematically, a rudimentary form of cluster analysis was conducted on the data. First, within each language group the responses on each assessment were intercorrelated with one another, a step which resulted in the two correlation matrices shown in Table IV-5. Next, all pairs of assessments revealing high levels of overlap (arbitrarily designated as those with Q values of .50 or higher) were extracted and examined for clustering properties. The results are diagrammed in Figure IV-1. Here, relations between pairs of

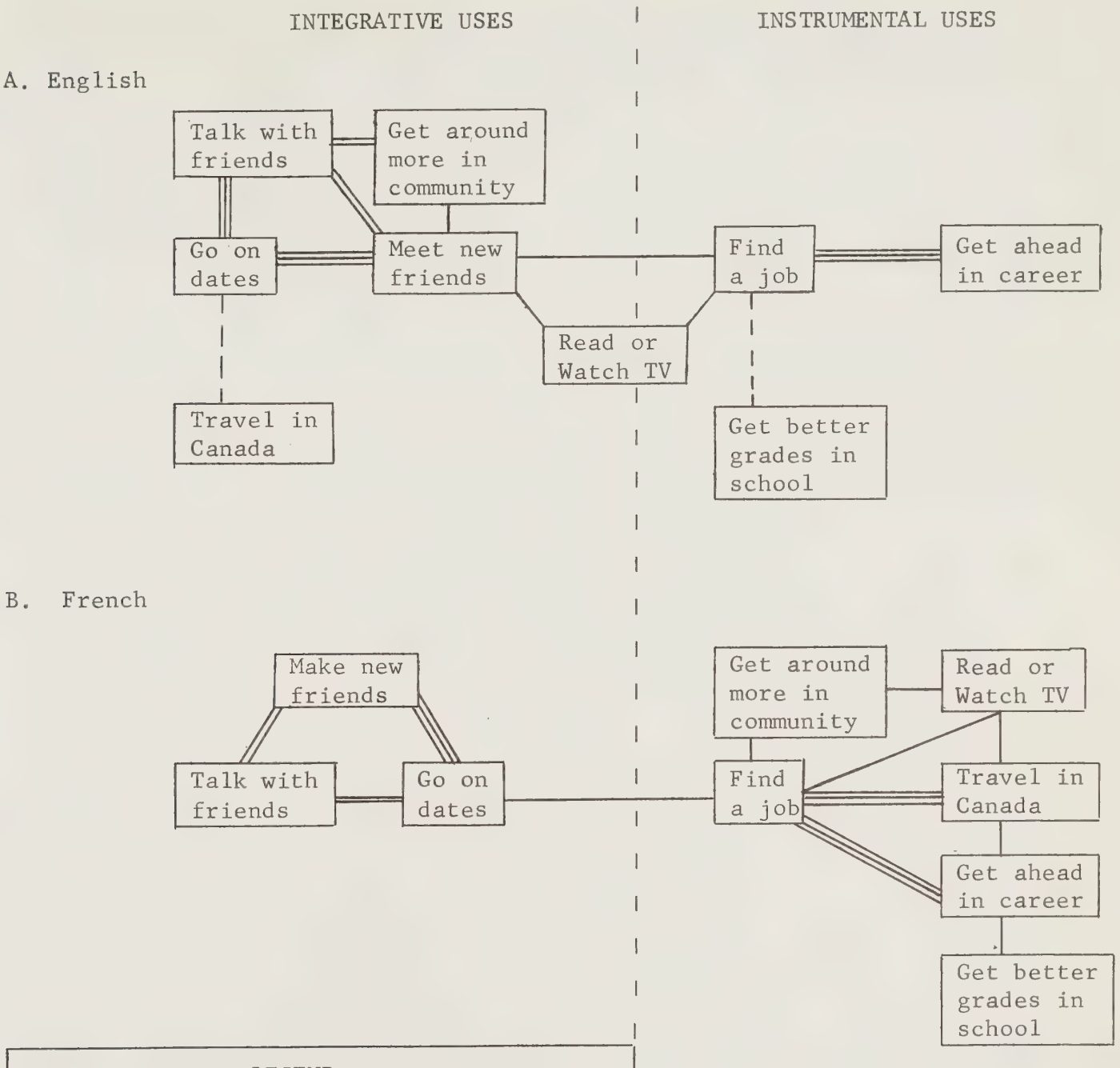
TABLE IV-5

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG DIFFERENT ASSESSMENTS OF BILINGUAL UTILITY, by language spoken at home

	Q values								
A. English	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
(1) Talk with friends	--	+.67	+.75	+.15	+.30	+.47	+.61	-.08	+.37
(2) Make new friends.	--	--	+.83	+.19	+.59	+.49	+.50	+.43	+.55
(3) Go on dates	--	--	--	+.17	+.45	+.46	-.08	+.48	+.37
(4) Better grades ...	--	--	--	--	+.36	+.33	+.04	+.29	+.26
(5) Find a job	--	--	--	--	--	+.75	+.34	+.29	+.51
(6) Advance on job ..	--	--	--	--	--	--	+.32	+.17	+.29
(7) Get around community	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	+.08	+.31
(8) Travel in Canada.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	+.43
(9) Read or watch TV.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
B. French	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
(1) Talk with friends	--	+.65	+.62	+.32	+.40	+.17	+.30	+.24	+.37
(2) Make new friends.	--	--	+.76	+.19	+.36	+.23	+.31	+.32	+.38
(3) Go on dates	--	--	--	+.15	+.53	+.24	+.10	+.29	+.21
(4) Better grades ...	--	--	--	--	+.47	+.55	+.37	+.23	+.38
(5) Find a job	--	--	--	--	--	+.83	+.51	+.71	+.58
(6) Advance on job...	--	--	--	--	--	--	+.49	+.52	+.43
(7) Get around community	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	+.46	+.50
(8) Travel in Canada.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	+.51
(9) Read or watch TV.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Figure IV-1

CORRELATION PATTERNS AMONG DIFFERENT ASSESSMENTS OF BILINGUAL UTILITY, by language spoken at home



assessments are indicated either by single, double, triple or dotted lines, the number of lines representing the strength of the relationship. As it turned out, no negative correlation stronger than -.10 was found between any pair of responses. This means that the lines in the diagram all represent positive relationships, and more generally that persons who thought bilingual skills would be helpful in one way were likely to think they would be useful in other ways too.

In charting these results in the fashion described, it was first assumed that three of the situations (talking with friends, making new friends and dating) constituted face valid measures of integrative language uses, and that three others (finding a job, getting ahead in a career, and getting better grades in school) were equally valid indicators of instrumental language uses. The patterns which emerge in Figure IV-1 tend to support this assumption. Among both groups of respondents, the three integrative evaluations interrelate at levels of +.60 or higher, while the two assessments regarding occupational uses of bilingualism correlated at better than +.70. Assessments regarding school grades are less strongly connected with the instrumental cluster--although the figures do indicate that these evaluations clearly belong there rather than on the other side of the ledger. The two clusters are also reasonably independent of one another, although among the English "meeting new friends" and "finding a job" did correlate at +.59, while among the French, curiously, uses of English for dating and job finding correlated at +.53. For the most part, however, the results describe a latent structure made up of two "factors" which could be meaningfully designated as integrative and instrumental uses of bilingualism.

The more important result to emerge from this analysis is that the three other sets of evaluations were interpreted quite differently by members of the two groups. Among the French, assessments on all three of these uses bunch quite clearly with the occupational evaluations of bilingualism, while among the English they are much more closely connected with evaluations reflecting social uses of language. Traveling in Canada, reading or watching television, and getting around in one's community, in short, convey quite different meanings to English- and French-speaking young people--at least in so far as language learning is concerned. For the French all of these situations represent channels to employment opportunities: those who think English will help them in these ways are really thinking about job finding. Widening the effective scope of one's environment through language facility, in other words, means widening one's occupational horizons.

For English-speaking young people, on the other hand, these uses of bilingualism have quite different meanings. Table IV-5 indicates that travel uses were correlated at levels of just +.29 and +.17 with job finding and career development, but at levels of +.43 and +.48 with meeting new friends and dating. Similarly, getting around more in one's own community through bilingual skills was much more frequently associated with the expansion of social connections than with occupational consequences. And finally, the meaning of reading and television viewing in the second language would also appear to be different for the two groups of young people. Among English youth, these uses take an intermediary position between occupational and social uses, the strongest correlation being with making new friends (+.55) and the second strongest with job finding (+.51). Among French youth, on the other hand, these uses denoted primarily occupational consequences.

To conclude, then, the results confirm that the very same language uses do in fact denote different consequences to members of the two cultures. When French-speaking young people assess the value of being bilingual, their thinking is dominated by occupational considerations, and they perceive these consequences in a much wider variety of situations than do their English-speaking peers. The main difference between the two groups in their orientation to learning the second official language, than, is that French youth are much more likely to view bilingualism as an occupational necessity--and particularly so when they think about their long-range career prospects.

C. Bilingualism in One's Own Life and in the National Community

Having now looked at dispositions regarding bilingualism in relation both to one's own life and as goals for the society at large, the remaining task is to determine how these two types of evaluations relate to one another. To what extent, in short, do young people's attitudes on bilingualism in the national community represent an extension of their feelings regarding the functions of bilingual facility in their own lives?

The evidence which bears most directly on this question is contained in Table IV-6, where rates of high commitment to bilingualism in Canada are reported separately for groups of young people who made different personal assessments of the utility of being bilingual. That these two perspectives are by no means independent of one another is clearly evident in these figures. Among English-speaking young people, as many as seven in ten of those who rated facility in French as highly useful--either at present or in the future--indicated strong support for bilingual practices in Canada

TABLE IV-6

COMMITMENT TO BILINGUALISM IN THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY, by perceived utility of bilingual skills--present and future, and language spoken at home

Per cent highly committed to bilingualism[a]				
A. Present utility				
Utility	English		French[b]	
Very useful: I could use it every day	69	(N=143)	82	(N=181)
Quite useful: I could use it often but not every day	61	(N=175)	73	(N=170)
Slightly useful: I could use it sometimes but not very often	50	(N=284)	66	(N= 73)
Not useful at all: I don't think I'd ever use it	21	(N=162)	--	(N= 7)
B. Utility in ten years				
Utility	English		French[b]	
Very useful: I could use it every day	70	(N=192)	86	(N=269)
Quite useful: I could use it often but not every day	58	(N=244)	60	(N=120)
Slightly useful: I could use it sometimes but not very often	34	(N=213)	58	(N= 31)
Not useful at all: I don't think I'd ever use it	21	(N=114)	--	(N= 8)

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

[b]Omits those who answered English language version of the questionnaire.

as a whole: by contrast, of those who felt they would never use French, only one in five did so. For most English-speaking young people, then, it could be concluded that attitudes on the national language issue are in large measure based on personal experiences and expectations regarding language use. Those who perceive a use for French in their own lives tend to feel that bilingualism in Canada would be a good thing; and those who don't see little reason why Canada should be a bilingual nation. English youth thus view bilingualism in their country from a highly pragmatic point of view, and their reactions on this issue could, if anything, be described as more egocentric than ethnocentric.

The two types of evaluations also show a surprisingly high degree of overlap among French-speaking respondents. Many French youth too, then, take their own linguistic needs into account when they think about bilingualism in Canada. The basic difference between the two groups, however, is that among the French even those who see relatively little personal advantage in knowing English are still more likely than not to endorse bilingual goals for the country at large. Most French young people, in other words, endorse bilingualism for Canada whether or not they perceive a function for bilingual skills in their own lives, and in this sense their convictions on the issue are not as strictly utilitarian as those of their English-speaking compartriots. The reactions of French-speaking youth, then, could perhaps be said to be based relatively more often on ethnocentric perspectives than on egocentric ones.

The most reasonable interpretation of these results is that both groups of young people tend to evaluate the national language issue on the

basis of direct personal experiences, but that these influences are a great deal more salient to English youth than to French. Most French young people can endorse bilingual goals for Canada simply because they are French--and therefore have the added investment of collective interests at stake. The attitudes of English-speaking young people, on the other hand, appear to be shaped much more exclusively by the demands of their own everyday experience. They tend to evaluate bilingual goals for their nation very much as they evaluate bilingualism in their own lives: French is a commodity worth having only if you have a use for it.

CHAPTER V

EXPECTATIONS REGARDING THE FUTURE

While earlier sections of the report touched at a number of points on young people's thoughts about the future of their country, this chapter focuses on how they perceive their own future position in Canadian society. The specific concerns of the chapter are with expectations regarding future place of residence, and with evaluations of future job prospects. Section A looks first at young people's attitudes regarding different Canadian provinces as places to live, and then examines where they actually expect to be located as young adults. The second section reports how young people from different regions rated their future employment prospects both in their own province and elsewhere in Canada, and then assesses how they would react to taking a good paying job if it involved moving to a different Canadian region, or alternatively, to the United States.

A. Residential Preferences and Expectations

Toward the middle of the questionnaire, young people were asked to indicate which Canadian provinces, including their own, they might like to live in at some point in the future, and also to identify the ones where they would definitely never want to live (Questions 20 and 21). These evaluations are reviewed first in Tables V-1 and V-2, the former indicating the proportions in each language group who assigned both positive and negative evaluations to each province, and the latter showing the overall balance between positive and negative ratings for young people living in different regions.

The first feature to be noted in Table V-1 is that not all ten provinces were equally likely to evoke a specific reaction from young people. Among the English as many as 68 per cent had definite reactions (either positive or negative) regarding British Columbia as a place to live, but only 32 per cent made a judgment about New Brunswick. Similarly, 75 per cent of French youth held definite views about Quebec while only 29 per cent rated Manitoba, and among the "others" 57 per cent made judgments about Quebec whereas Prince Edward Island evoked a positive or negative reaction from just 16 per cent. First of all, then, it is clear that when considered as places to live some provinces stimulated emotional responses from large numbers of young people, while others were for the most part regarded without affect.

In terms of specific reactions, Table V-1 indicates (a) that British Columbia and Ontario were evaluated very favourably by English-speaking youth; (b) that Quebec was the only province about which French young people had a strongly positive consensus; and (c) that Ontario and Alberta were viewed as the most attractice places to live by members of the third group. The results also indicate that on balance both the English and the "others" rated a majority of provinces favourably, while the French made positive assessments only about Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia.

These reactions are much more meaningfully interpreted on a regional basis, of course, and Table V-2 indicates, as was to be expected, that young people in general gave highly favourable ratings to their own provinces--this tendency being strongest in the case of the B.C. English, the Quebec French, and the Ontario English. At the same time, however, all

TABLE V-1

ATTRACTIVENESS OF DIFFERENT PROVINCES AS PLACES TO LIVE, by language spoken at home

Question 20. In which Canadian provinces--including your own--do you think you might like to live at some time in the future?

Question 21. In which Canadian provinces would you definitely never want to live?

Provinces	English (N=793)			French (N=529)			Other (N=37)		
	Live in	Avoid	Balance	Live in	Avoid	Balance	Live in	Avoid	Balance
Alberta	33%[a]	11%	+22	12%	20%	- 8	41%	1%	+40
British Columbia	64	4	+60	23	18	+ 5	34	8	+26
Manitoba	20	13	+ 7	11	18	- 7	16	1	+15
New Brunswick	16	16	0	18	19	- 1	4	13	- 9
Newfoundland	11	33	-22	8	33	-25	4	25	-21
Nova Scotia	20	16	+ 4	10	22	-12	17	6	+11
Ontario	55	4	+51	35	15	+20	44	1	+43
Prince Edward Island .	17	19	- 2	8	26	-18	10	6	+ 4
Quebec	21	36	-15	70	5	+65	40	17	+23
Saskatchewan	21	19	+ 2	8	22	-14	21	2	+19
Prefer to live outside Canada	11	--	+24	7	--	+31	9	--	+50
Would live in any province	--	35		--	38		--	59	

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

TABLE V-2

ATTRACTIVENESS OF DIFFERENT PROVINCES AS PLACES TO LIVE, by region and language spoken at home

Provinces	Net balance in ratings: Per cent who say they would like to live in the province minus per cent who say they definitely would never want to live there[a]						
	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Maritimes (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
Alberta	-12	+ 9	+11	+ 8	+10	+54	+18
British Columbia	+ 4	+14	+46	+55	+53	+65	+83
Manitoba	-10	+ 4	+ 8	-10	+ 1	+26	- 2
New Brunswick	- 8	+29	+24	- 7	0	-11	-11
Newfoundland	-27	-14	-23	-17	-23	-22	-23
Nova Scotia	-14	- 7	+36	+ 1	+ 4	- 7	-11
Ontario	+14	+45	+43	+44	+64	+39	+43
Prince Edward Island	- 20	- 7	+ 4	- 4	+ 2	- 7	- 9
Quebec	+74	+22	-14	+42	-10	-33	-14
Saskatchewan	-16	- 8	+ 6	- 3	0	+ 6	-10

[a]Percentages for both positive and negative ratings computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

regional groups regarded B. C. and Ontario as good places to live, and all rejected Newfoundland as a province in which to take up residence. Moreover, English-speaking youth were particularly impressed with the residential possibilities of British Columbia, and in all other regions except Ontario, more rated that province higher than they did their own. On the other hand, even though both groups of French made positive evaluations of Quebec, one could infer from the figures that those living outside Quebec gave relatively higher ratings to their own provinces.

In addition, all groups of non-Quebec English viewed the prospects of living in Quebec more negatively than positively, and only two English-speaking provinces, Ontario and British Columbia, were given an overall favourable rating by the Quebec French. Thus young people from both cultures would in the main prefer to avoid the territories where the other culture is most dominant. On the English side, avoidance reactions to Quebec were strongest among those from the Prairies, while the English-speaking provinces viewed most negatively by the Quebec French were Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island.

Next, Table V-3 summarizes the responses by showing the mean number of provinces identified both positively and negatively by different language, age, and regional groupings. The most important findings here are (a) that of the three language groups it was the French who identified both the fewest number of provinces as places to live, and the largest number as places to avoid; (b) that members of the third group were the least likely to exclude specific provinces from their thoughts about where to live in Canada; (c) that on balance, the Quebec French evaluated more

TABLE V-3

NUMBER OF CANADIAN PROVINCES IN WHICH YOUNG PEOPLE WOULD LIKE TO LIVE AND DEFINITELY NOT WANT TO LIVE, by language spoken at home, region and language spoken at home, and age and language spoken at home

	Mean Number of Provinces Named		
A. Language Spoken at Home			
	Live in	Avoid	Difference
English	2.77	1.72	+1.05
French	2.03	1.99	+ .04
Other	2.31	.80	+1.51
B. Region and Language Spoken at Home			
	Live in	Avoid	Difference
French--Quebec	1.91	2.08	- .17
French--non-Quebec	2.51	1.62	+ .89
English--Maritimes	3.03	1.58	+1.45
English--Quebec	2.58	1.48	+1.10
English--Ontario	2.65	1.64	+1.01
English--Prairies	2.78	1.69	+1.09
English--British Columbia	2.87	2.25	+ .62
C. Age and Language Spoken at Home			
	Live in	Avoid	Difference
English-- 13-14	2.85	1.58	+1.27
15-16	2.69	1.87	+ .82
17-18	2.72	1.69	+1.03
19-20	2.96	1.80	+1.16
French-- 13-14	2.34	1.82	+ .52
15-16	2.03	2.01	+ .02
17-18	1.73	1.83	- .10
19-20	2.10	2.52	- .42

provinces negatively than positively; and (d) that between the years of thirteen and twenty the ratings of French youth shifted from a positive to negative overall balance. These results suggest, then, that French-speaking young people from Quebec not only show a definite orientation to restrict themselves territorially within Canada, but that their thinking in this regard becomes much more pronounced during the adolescent years.

In overview, Canadian youth could be said to hold quite definite views on the prospects of living in some areas of their country, while other areas have relatively little meaning to them in this regard. Moreover, since both English- and French-speaking young people tended to limit their positive evaluations to provinces located within their own territories of linguistic and cultural influence, one could conclude that Canadian youth by no means ignore bilingual and bicultural considerations when thinking about a future place of residence.

When asked where they thought they would actually be living in ten years, it is not surprising, then, that the French were by far the most likely to anticipate remaining in their own province: they were 15 per cent more likely to say this than the English, and 37 per cent more likely to do so than members of the smaller minorities. (Table V-4.) By comparison, the rates at which the three groups had definite intentions to relocate were much more similar, the English being only 5 per cent more likely to cite a specific destination than the French, and only 3 per cent more likely to do so than the "others." Where the responses were brought back into balance, rather, was in the rates at which groups expressed uncertainty about the future: only 16 per cent of the French, compared with 26 per cent of the English and as many as 51 per cent of the "others," indicated they weren't

sure where they'd be living in ten years. The main difference between the groups, then, was that the French were much more likely to have crystallized an intention to remain in their own province.

One other feature to be noted in Table V-4 is that no single destination was cited very frequently by any of the groups--not more than 4 per cent indicating a specific Canadian location, and not more than 5 per cent a specific country. Of those who did expect to relocate, however, a majority in both non-French-speaking groups indicated they would do so within Canada, while a majority of the French said they expected to leave Canada.

TABLE V-4

RESIDENTIAL EXPECTATIONS IN TEN YEARS, by language spoken at home

Question 22. Where do you think you'll actually be living ten years from now?

Area of Expected Residence	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
Same province	56%[a]	71%	34%
Different Canadian province	10	5	9
Maritime province	1	b	b
Quebec	1	2	--
Ontario	3	1	--
Prairie province	2	1	4
B. C.	3	b	4
Province not indicated	1	b	--
Different country	8	8	6
United States	5	3	5
Great Britain	1	1	--
France	b	2	--
All other	1	1	1
No country named	1	1	--
Not sure	26	16	51
Total	100	100	100

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

[b]Less than one-half of 1 per cent.

As with the evaluations of specific provinces, these responses are much more easily interpreted on a regional basis, and in this regard Table V-5 confirms one's suspicions that the high rates of anticipated stability among the French reflect primarily the expectations of those from Quebec. Of the two French-speaking groups, those living outside Quebec were 16 per cent less likely to cite their own province, and in fact were 10 per cent less likely to do so than the Ontario English. Thus, it was the Quebec French and the Ontario English who had the most stable expectations regarding their future area of residence. By contrast, fewer than half of the English-speaking youth from either Quebec or the Prairie provinces indicated a firm intention to stay put, and both of these groups expressed high levels of uncertainty as to where they would be living as young adults. Nonetheless, it was the Maritime English who were most likely to have definite mobility expectations, 19 per cent naming other Canadian provinces and 6 per cent other countries.

Interesting regional variations may also be noted in the destinations cited by young people who had firm intentions to move. These are made more clearly visible when the groups are ordered according to the extent to which Canadian locations were cited over foreign ones:

Grouping	Per cent by which Canadian destinations were cited more frequently than foreign ones
Maritime English	+13
Non-Quebec French	+10
Ontario English	+ 2
Prairie English	+ 1
Quebec English	0
Quebec French	- 6
B. C. English	- 6

TABLE V-5

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN RESIDENTIAL EXPECTATIONS IN FUTURE, by language spoken at home

Area Where Respondent Expects to be Living in Ten Years	Per Cent Who Expect to Live in Different Locations in Ten Years[a]						
	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Maritimes (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
In same province	74	58	51	45	68	43	54
In another Canadian province .	2	16	19	11	6	12	5
In another country	8	6	6	11	4	11	11
Not sure	15	21	24	32	21	33	30
Total	99	101	100	99	99	99	100

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

These figures thus fall at three distinct levels, the Maritime English and non-Quebec French clearly choosing Canadian destinations over foreign ones; the Quebec, Ontario and Prairie English showing an even balance in their intentions to stay in Canada or leave; and the Quebec French and B. C. English more frequently anticipating emigration from than relocation within Canada.

To recapitulate, then, Table V-5 indicates (a) that the Quebec French were the ones most likely to view their future place of residence within their own province--and the least likely to anticipate a move to a different Canadian province; (b) that the Maritime English were highest in expectations regarding interprovincial mobility; (c) that the Quebec and Prairie English were least certain about where they would take up residence as young adults--and least convinced of the virtues of staying in their own province; (d) that the B. C. English and Quebec French were more likely to think about leaving Canada than of moving within their country; and finally (e) that of the English-speaking groups Ontarians were the most firm in their intentions about remaining in their own province. It is clear, then, that both region and ethnicity have a great deal of influence on how Canadian young people view their future position in Canadian society.

Residential expectations were also examined in relation to age, and it turned out that among French youth expectations regarding areal stability rose sharply over the teen years. Table V-6 shows that the number of French who expected to remain in their own province increased steadily from 63 per cent among those just entering their teen-years to 84 per cent of those entering their twenties. This increment is therefore quite substantial, and it would appear to be accounted for both by shifts in intentions

TABLE V-6

AGE DIFFERENCES IN RESIDENTIAL EXPECTATIONS IN FUTURE, by language spoken at home

Area Where Respondent Expects to be Living in Ten Years	Per Cent Who Expect to Live in Different Locations in Ten Years[a]							
	English				French			
	13-14 (N=261)	15-16 (N=260)	17-18 (N=202)	19-20 (N=68)	13-14 (N=161)	15-16 (N=162)	17-18 (N=140)	19-20 (N=60)
In same province	61	56	48	60	63	70	72	84
In another Canadian province	8	10	12	10	9	3	5	2
In another country	8	6	13	--	9	7	9	5
Not sure	23	28	26	30	20	20	13	9
Total	100	100	99	100	101	100	99	100

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

regarding mobility, and by generally lower levels of indecisiveness. Over the eight-year span, responses indicating uncertainty about the future fell from 20 to 9 per cent among the French, while expectations regarding mobility showed a similar drop from 18 to 7 per cent.

The most striking feature here is that none of these trends appear among English-speaking youth. Indeed, their responses suggest no increasing propensity to opt in favour of staying put, and if anything, show increasing levels of uncertainty among the older age-groups. Even though at all ages more English youth than French indicated they did not know where they would be located in the future, this difference widened considerably over the adolescent years: for the four age periods examined here, it increased from 3 to 8 to 13 to 21 per cent. Thus while virtually all French youth had firm residential expectations by the age of twenty, a substantial number of English had still not made up their minds at this point. These results suggest, in short, that French-Canadian youth decide where they are going to live as adults at a somewhat earlier age than do English.

B. Readiness to Move in Response to Economic Incentive

Economic considerations would appear in large measure to account for the regional differences found in expectations regarding residential mobility. When asked to rate their future job prospects,[1] young people from the different regions made widely varying appraisals of the opportunities available to them both in their own province and in other parts of Canada. Part A of Table V-7 shows that the proportions who rated their prospects as "definitely

[1] See questions 43 and 44 in Appendix B.

good" in their own province ranged from lows of 21 and 29 per cent among the Maritime and Prairie English to highs of 43 per cent among both the Quebec French and the Ontario English. In general, then, the regions where job opportunities were perceived to be best were the same ones where expectations regarding areal stability were rated the highest, and vice versa.

Moreover, the extent to which a group perceived its job prospects to be better in other provinces than at home turned out to be a good predictor of the proportion of young people from that region indicating a specific expectation to relocate as adults in another Canadian province.[2] All in all, then, the migratory expectations of Canadian young people would appear to fit the usual pattern, and to occur more frequently when an unfavourable balance is seen to exist between the economic opportunities offered at home and those available elsewhere.

From a strictly behavioral point of view, of course, individual decisions to change a place of domicile would be analysed in terms of the forces which both attract the individual from the outside and which tie him

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[2]When regional groups were ranked by the proportion who expected to move to a specific Canadian province in the future (Table V-5) and by the extent to which they rated "definitely good" job prospects more often to be found in other provinces than at home, the resulting rankings showed a correlation of +.86. Viz.,

Group	Per cent expecting to move to a different province	Rank	Job prospects in other provinces compared to those at home	Rank
Maritime English	19	1	+12	1
Non-Quebec French	16	2	- 6	4
Prairie English	12	3	- 1	3
Quebec English	11	4	+ 4	2
Ontario English	6	5	-13	5
B. C. English	5	6	-14	6
Quebec French	2	7	-22	7

rho = +.86

TABLE V-7

PERCEPTION OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN OWN PROVINCE AND ELSEWHERE IN CANADA, by language spoken at home and region

Responses	Per Cent Giving Different Responses[a]									
	French			English						Other
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Total (N=529)	Maritimes (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)	Total (N=793)	Total (N=37)
A. JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN OWN PROVINCE										
Definitely good	43	32	40	21	37	43	29	41	35	26
Probably good	29	29	29	42	39	31	48	35	38	23
Fair	19	23	20	19	15	17	11	15	16	23
Probably not so good ..	4	6	4	5	3	3	4	4	4	2
Definitely not so good.	1	2	2	1	3	1	1	3	2	1
I'm not sure	5	8	5	12	4	5	7	2	6	25
Total	101	100	100	100	101	100	100	100	101	100
B. JOB OPPORTUNITIES SOMEWHERE ELSE IN CANADA										
Definitely good	21	26	22	33	41	30	28	27	30	21
Probably good	29	32	30	38	40	37	35	44	38	35
Fair	25	22	24	15	11	19	24	17	19	22
Probably not so good ..	5	5	5	b	--	2	4	7	3	4
Definitely not so good.	5	b	4	--	4	b	1	--	1	1
I'm not sure	15	14	15	14	4	11	8	5	10	16
Total	100	99	100	100	100	99	100	100	101	99

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

[b]Less than one-half of 1 per cent.

to the local environment. Decisions not to change one's residence when given strong motivation to do so, then, constitute a rough kind of index of the strength of one's attachment to a local government. In the present survey, young people were placed in precisely this kind of situation when asked whether they would advise a friend to take the better of two job offers if it involved, on the one hand, moving to a location "about 1,000 miles away in a different province of Canada," and on the other, moving to the United States. (Questions 18 and 19.) An examination of the responses to these questions, then, offers some clue as to the relative strength of both provincial and national ties when tested against strong economic incentives.

These responses are reviewed in relation to language spoken at home, region and age in Tables V-8 through V-10.[3] First, from Part A of Table V-8, it is clear that members of the three language groups were quite differently disposed to the prospects of geographic mobility within Canada. English-speaking young people demonstrated a readiness to accept employment opportunities wherever they might be found in Canada, while an even more clearcut majority of French youth rejected the idea of moving to a different Canadian province even if that meant getting a much better paying job. Members of the third group were again closer to the English Canadian point of view than to that of the French.

In Part B of the table, on the other hand, the English and French show a much higher level of agreement, and both substantially rejected the notion

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[3] A much more intensive analysis of these attachments will appear as part of Joseph M. Spina's doctoral dissertation, "Adolescent Attachment to Canada and Commitment to a National Community," Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, in progress.

TABLE V-8

READINESS TO MOVE UNDER ECONOMIC INCENTIVE,
by language spoken at home

Per Cent Giving Different Responses[a]			
A. Readiness to Move Within Canada			
Question 18. Suppose you had a friend who had just finished school and was offered two jobs. The first was close to home and paid a pretty good salary. The second one paid a lot more money but was about 1,000 miles away in a different province of Canada. If you were asked for advice, which job would you tell your friend to take?			
Responses	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
The job close to home which paid a pretty good salary	38	63	46
The job in another province which paid a lot better	52	31	53
I'm not sure	10	6	1
Total	100	100	100
B. Readiness to Leave Canada			
Question 19. What if his choice was between a job close to home which paid a pretty good salary and a job in the United States which paid a lot better? Which would you tell him to take then?			
Responses	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
The job close to home which paid a pretty good salary	54	59	43
The job in the U.S. which paid a lot better	35	34	45
I'm not sure	11	7	12
Total	100	100	100

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

of emigrating to the United States in response to economic temptation. Members of the smaller ethnic minorities, on the other hand, reacted somewhat more favourably than the other groups to this possibility.

Although most French youth would prefer not to migrate in either direction, it is revealing, nonetheless, that slightly more said they would recommend taking a job in the U.S. than in a different region of their own country (34 compared with 31 per cent). As might be anticipated, however, this discrepancy characterized the responses only of French-speaking young people from Quebec. Table V-9 indicates that the Quebec French, although not often in favour of either type of move, were nonetheless 7 per cent more likely to endorse a move to the United States than to a different province of Canada, while their counterparts living elsewhere in Canada were 9 per cent more receptive to job offers within the country.

Some of the other figures in Table V-9 represent sharp departures from the regional patterns found in earlier sections of this chapter, the most notable being the responses of English-speaking youth from the two coastal regions. The Maritime English, while showing the highest expectations regarding interprovincial mobility, turned out to be lowest of all the English-speaking groups in their readiness to endorse job offers both from the U. S. and from other regions of Canada; and the B. C. English, who had extremely infrequent intentions to relocate within Canada, indicated a high readiness to do so if monetary gains were at stake. These discrepancies are somewhat perplexing, but perhaps do reflect genuine east-west differences in young people's readiness to take advantage of economic opportunities. The fact that these groups differed markedly in their expectations to

relocate elsewhere in Canada could, of course, be readily explained by the relative economic conditions in the respective regions.

TABLE V-9

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN READINESS TO MOVE UNDER ECONOMIC INCENTIVE, by language spoken at home

Language and Region	Per Cent Who Would Advise a Friend to Move to ...[a] Another Canadian Province	The United States
French--Quebec (N=337)	27	34
--Non-Quebec (N.192)	46	37
English--Maritimes (N=122)	43	28
--Quebec (N=107)	45	43
--Ontario (N=291)	48	34
--Prairies (N=175)	63	39
--British Columbia (N=98)	56	37

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases and include those who are not sure. Table shows unweighted case bases.

The responses of the B. C. English in this regard are also interesting when considered in relation to the strong provincial orientation that group displayed in its evaluation of different levels of government in the Canadian federal system. In Chapter I it was found that the B. C. English gave their provincial government an even stronger vote of confidence than the Quebec French gave to theirs. In light of the present results, however, it would appear that the provincialism of the two groups is indeed of a rather different tenacity: that of the Quebec French would seem

clearly to override the maximization of economic advantage, while that of the B. C. English just as clearly would not.

Finally, Table V-10 indicates that while older English youth were much more responsive than younger ones to the idea of interprovincial mobility for economic gain, older French youth were, if anything, less supportive than their juniors of such moves. Thus although at all ages more English than French recommended in favour of the better job, the discrepancies were considerably wider among older youth than younger: indeed, they increased from levels of 16 and 14 per cent among the two younger groups to levels of 25 and 40 per cent among the two older. Neither English nor French, however, displayed any age shifts at all in their readiness to recommend in favour of employment offers from the United States.

TABLE V-10

AGE DIFFERENCES IN READINESS TO MOVE UNDER ECONOMIC INCENTIVE, by language spoken at home

Language and Age	Per Cent Who Would Advise a Friend to Move to ...[a] Another Canadian Province	The United States
English--13-14 (N=261)	44	33
15-16 (N=260)	51	41
17-18 (N=202)	56	33
19-20 (N=68)	64	33
French-- 13-14 (N=161)	28	36
15-16 (N=162)	37	38
17-18 (N=140)	31	29
19-20 (N=60)	24	35

[a]All percentages computed from weighted bases and include those who are not sure. Table shows unweighted case bases.

These results illustrate once again that as young people from the two cultures mature they come to reappraise their relation to the national environment in quite different ways. Between the years of thirteen and twenty, English youth could quite literally be said to expand their territorial horizons, while the French seem to be in a process of limiting theirs.

To sum up, then, these results suggest the following conclusions regarding the readiness of Canadian young people to loosen provincial and national ties in response to economic incentives:

(a) first, it is clear that neither the French nor the English showed much of a propensity to evaluate economic advantage ahead of national attachments;

(b) second, the provincial ties of the Quebec French would appear to be relatively less vulnerable to outside economic stimuli than those of any other group; and

(c) third, among the English, provincial attachments seem to be stronger in the east than in the west, and to be relatively less salient to older youth than to younger.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

METHODS OF STUDY, SAMPLE DESIGN AND FIELD RESULTS

In the initial stage of this inquiry a series of exploratory interviews were carried out with fourteen English- and French-speaking young people in Montreal, Ottawa and Calgary. The first of these were of a completely unstructured variety, and were conducted in order to get a preliminary feel for the kinds of content areas young people would identify when asked to talk freely about their country. Later interviews were partially structured in order to test the feasibility of certain lines of questioning and to suggest question phrasings for the construction of a questionnaire.

Next, a questionnaire was drafted and pretested on a total of 124 English- and French-speaking youth. These pretests were carried out in Montreal and Ottawa with classes of high-school students, and in Toronto with a small sample of young people contacted in their homes. Following the trial run in Toronto, the final version of the questionnaire was prepared.

The questionnaire was written in English and then double-translated. Translations were checked by a number of observers for suggestions and corrections. In its final form, the questionnaire took shape as a twenty-page self-administered instrument requiring the average young person between thirty and forty minutes to complete. Copies are shown in both English and French in Appendix B.

This questionnaire was then administered to a national sample of Canadian young people by Canadian Facts Limited of Toronto. Field work was

conducted between May and early July of 1965. The survey was carried out as part of the field work for the Royal Commission's national interview survey of Canadian adults, the general procedure being to administer questionnaires to all persons in the specified age-range located in the households contacted in the main survey. No young people were sampled other than in households where an adult had already been interviewed. Age was the sole criterion for the selection of respondents. All persons between thirteen and twenty were given questionnaires, regardless of whether they were married or single, or working or attending school. The only exception to this was where the person selected for an adult interview turned out to be under twenty-one years of age, these individuals being ruled ineligible to receive a questionnaire.

In the original design for the survey, the field plan called for an individual administration of the questionnaire with each young person who turned up in the sample. Interviewers were instructed to deliver questionnaires in person to all respondents, and to remain in the household while the questionnaire was being filled out. After the field work had been launched, however, it became evident that the number of interviewer call-backs necessitated by this requirement would seriously alter the field schedule for the main survey, which called for the completion of over 4,000 adult interviews. This specification had to be relaxed, therefore, and it was subsequently ruled that questionnaires could be left with an adult member of the household and passed on to the adolescent. These questionnaires were then either mailed back to the field office or picked up by the interviewer on a subsequent field trip. All in all, 23 per cent of

the completed schedules were deposited and returned in this way, the remainder being delivered in person to the respondents.

Questionnaires were available in both French and English and were distributed according to the language spoken most frequently by the respondent at home. Persons speaking languages other than English or French at home were given English-language questionnaires unless they specifically requested a French form. It turned out, however, that seventy-eight young people who filled out English language forms indicated on their questionnaires that they spoke French most often at home. These persons therefore had to be dropped from the analysis in the sections dealing with assessments of the utility of bilingual skills, and with the influence of intergroup contacts on attitudes regarding bilingualism.

The sample employed in the study was a weighted multi-stage stratified area random sample of names appearing on the electoral lists for the 1963 general election.[1] In order to ensure enough cases of French-Canadians living outside of Quebec and of non-French groups living in Quebec, both of these strata were oversampled at a ratio of three-to-one. Non-French electors living outside of Quebec were undersampled at a ratio of two-to-three, while the Quebec French were sampled according to their actual representation in the population.

In total 1,365 complete and useable questionnaires were returned for the analysis. This represented 66.6 per cent of the weighted total of

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[1] A comprehensive description of the sample design and characteristics appears in the report for the main survey, and need not be duplicated here. See, the Social Research Group, A Study of Interethnic Relations in Canada. Appendix I.

young people located in the survey. As it turned out, however, these rates of response varied considerably over the eight ages sampled, and ranged from a high of 76.2 per cent among thirteen-year olds to a low of 47.4 per cent of the twenty-year olds. (See Table A-1.) These differentials were produced in part by the fact that older youth were much less often found at home than their juniors, and in part because a number of nineteen and twenty-year olds were ineligible to receive questionnaires by virtue of being interviewed in person as members of the adult sample. This necessitated the reweighting of each individual according to the completion rate for all persons his age, a step which when combined with the sampling specifications resulted in a final set of individual weights ranging from twenty-six to 189. (See Table A-2.) All computations and calculations for the analysis were therefore conducted on a total weighted case base of 119,039.

TABLE A-1

RATES OF RESPONSE, by age

Age	Total Located (Weighted)	Total Returned and Useable (Weighted)	Completion Rate (Per Cent)	Adjusted Weight
13	1,797	1,370	76.2	13
14	1,702	1,121	65.9	15
15	1,734	1,231	71.0	14
16	1,843	1,331	72.2	14
17	1,518	976	64.3	16
18	1,672	987	59.0	17
19	1,050	544	51.8	19
20	521	247	47.4	21
Not given	---	81	----	
Total	11,837	7,888	66.6	

TABLE A-2

ADJUSTED WEIGHTS FOR RESPONDENTS

Age	Language and Region			
	Quebec French	Quebec Non-French	Non-Quebec French	Non-Quebec Non-French
13	78	26	26	117
14	90	30	30	135
15	84	28	28	126
16	84	28	28	126
17	96	32	32	144
18	103	34	34	153
19	114	38	38	171
20	126	42	42	189

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRES

NORC-488
3/65

CANADIAN FACTS LIMITED

and

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER

Opinion Survey of Canadian Youth

You are one of about 2,000 people in Canada who have been selected to take part in this survey.

The purpose of the study is to find out what Canadians think of their country today, and about certain other events of the day.

It is important that you answer the questions exactly the way you feel. There are no right or wrong answers to any questions, and no one you know will ever see the answers you put down. IT IS NOT A TEST.

Most of the questions can be answered by putting a circle around one of the numbers printed next to the answers for each question. For example:

In which age group do you fall?

(circle one answer)

Under 25 ..... (1)
25 to 39 2
40 or above 3

Please do not write in the right hand margins. The numbers in the margins are to help us add up the answers back in the office.

PLEASE TURN TO THE NEXT PAGE AND BEGIN WITH QUESTION 1. THANK YOU.

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE										
1/	2/	3/	4/	5/	6/	7/	8/	9/	10/	11/

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

1. As you know, Canada now has a new flag. Some people still think we would be better off with a flag which makes you think more of Canada's past history, while other people like having a flag that is completely new. If you still had a choice, which type of flag would you like better?

(Circle one answer)

A flag which makes you think of Canada's past	1	12/0
A completely new flag	2	
I'm not sure	3	
I wouldn't care one way or the other	4	

2. Which one do you think most other Canadians your age would like better--if the choice were still open?

(Circle one answer)

A flag which makes you think of Canada's past	6	13/5
A completely new flag	7	
They'd probably be divided about 50-50	8	
I'm not sure	9	

3. Suppose that votes were taken today on this question in all ten Canadian provinces. How do you think the votes would come out? (Circle one answer for each province)

	THEY'D VOTE FOR....			
	A FLAG WHICH MAKES YOU THINK OF CANADA'S PAST	A COMPLETELY NEW FLAG	I'M NOT SURE	
Alberta	1	2	3	14/4
British Columbia	5	6	7	15/8
Manitoba	1	2	3	16/4
New Brunswick	5	6	7	17/8
Newfoundland	1	2	3	18/4
Nova Scotia	5	6	7	19/8
Ontario	1	2	3	20/4
Prince Edward Island	5	6	7	21/8
Quebec	1	2	3	22/4
Saskatchewan	5	6	7	23/8

24/

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

4. Suppose that votes were taken on a lot of other questions about the future of Canada. Do you think Canadians would agree on most things about Canada's future, or that they'd tend to disagree?

(Circle one answer)

They'd agree on practically everything 1 25/0
They'd agree on most things 2
They'd agree on half and disagree on half 3
They'd disagree on most things 4
They'd disagree on practically everything 5
I'm not sure 6

---

5. How about people from Eastern Canada and people from Western Canada--would they agree or disagree on most questions about Canada's future?

(Circle one answer)

They'd agree on practically everything 1 26/0
They'd agree on most things 2
They'd agree on half and disagree on half 3
They'd disagree on most things 4
They'd disagree on practically everything 5
I'm not sure 6

---

6. How about Catholics and Protestants--would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?

(Circle one answer)

They'd agree on practically everything 1 27/0
They'd agree on most things 2
They'd agree on half and disagree on half 3
They'd disagree on most things 4
They'd disagree on practically everything 5
I'm not sure 6

---

7. How about French-speaking Canadians and English-speaking Canadians--would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?

(Circle one answer)

They'd agree on practically everything 1 28/0
They'd agree on most things 2
They'd agree on half and disagree on half 3
They'd disagree on most things 4
They'd disagree on practically everything 5
I'm not sure 6

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

8. How about people born in Canada and people born outside of Canada--would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?

(Circle one answer)

They'd agree on practically everything 1
They'd agree on most things 2
They'd agree on half and disagree on half 3
They'd disagree on most things 4
They'd disagree on practically everything 5
I'm not sure 6

29/0

9. How about people from rich families and people from poor families--would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?

(Circle one answer)

They'd agree on practically everything 1
They'd agree on most things 2
They'd agree on half and disagree on half 3
They'd disagree on most things 4
They'd disagree on practically everything 5
I'm not sure 6

30/0

10. What about people from the big cities and people from the rural areas--would they agree or disagree about Canada's future?

(Circle one answer)

They'd agree on practically everything 1
They'd agree on most things 2
They'd agree on half and disagree on half 3
They'd disagree on most things 4
They'd disagree on practically everything 5
I'm not sure 6

31/0

32/

33/

11. Which <u>countries</u> would you name as Canada's three best friends?

BEST FRIEND: _____ 34/

SECOND BEST FRIEND: _____ 35/

THIRD BEST FRIEND: _____ 36/

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

12. Some people think that Canadians and Americans are very much alike, while others think they are very different. What would you say?

(Circle one answer)

I'd say they were alike in most ways 1 37/0

I'd say they were different in most ways 2

I'm not sure 3

13. On which of the following things would you say Canadians and Americans are definitely alike, and on which are they definitely different? (Circle one answer for each part of the question)

	DEFINITELY ALIKE	DEFINITELY DIFFERENT	I'M NOT SURE	
(a) the types of food they eat	1	2	3	38/4
(b) their friendliness to strangers	5	6	7	39/8
(c) their hair and clothing styles	1	2	3	40/4
(d) the language they speak	5	6	7	41/8
(e) the types of music they like	1	2	3	42/4
(f) the types of jobs they hold	5	6	7	43/8
(g) the amount of money they have	1	2	3	44/4
(h) the importance they attach to religion..	5	6	7	45/8
(i) the importance they attach to having a good time	1	2	3	46/4
(j) the importance they attach to making a lot of money	5	6	7	47/8
(k) the kind of government they have	1	2	3	48/4
				49/
				50/

14. Who would you say have more in common--English-speaking Canadians and Americans or English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians?

(Circle one answer)

English-speaking Canadians and Americans 5 51/8

English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians.. 6

I'm not sure 7

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

15. Which government would you say does the most for people?

(Circle one answer)

The government of your city, town or township 1
The government of your province 2
The government of Canada 3
I'm not sure 4

52/0

16. Which one would you say does the least for people?

(Circle one answer)

The government of your city, town or township 6
The government of your province 7
The government of Canada 8
I'm not sure 9

53/5

17. Which government would be best to work for--if the salary was the same on each job?

(Circle one answer)

The government of your city, town or township 1
The government of your province 2
The government of Canada 3
I'm not sure 4

54/0

18. Suppose you had a friend who had just finished school and was offered two jobs. The first was close to home and paid a pretty good salary. The second one paid a lot more money but was about 1,000 miles away in a different province of Canada. If you were asked for advice, which job would you tell your friend to take?

(Circle one answer)

The job close to home which paid a pretty good salary 1
The job in another province which paid a lot better 2
I'm not sure 3

55/0

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

19. What if his choice was between a job close to home which paid a pretty good salary and a job in the United States which paid a lot better? Which would you tell him to take then?

(Circle one answer)

The job close to home which paid a pretty good salary	5	56/8
The job in the U. S. which paid a lot better	6	
I'm not sure	7	

---

20. In which Canadian provinces--including your own--do you think you might like to live at some time in the future?

(Circle all those where you think you might like to live)

Alberta	0	57/y
British Columbia	1	
Manitoba	2	
New Brunswick	3	
Newfoundland	4	
Nova Scotia	5	
Ontario	6	
Prince Edward Island	7	
Quebec	8	
Saskatchewan	9	
None. I hope to live outside of Canada in the future	X	58/

---

21. In which Canadian provinces would you definitely never want to live?

(Circle all those where you would never want to live)

Alberta	0	59/y
British Columbia	1	
Manitoba	2	
New Brunswick	3	
Newfoundland	4	
Nova Scotia	5	
Ontario	6	
Prince Edward Island	7	
Quebec	8	
Saskatchewan	9	
None. There is no province where I definitely wouldn't want to live	X	60/

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

22. Where do you think you'll <u>actually</u> be living ten years from now?

(Circle one answer)

In this province 1 61/0

In another Canadian province 2

(Which one? _____)

In another country 3

(Which one? _____) 62/

I'm not sure 4 63/

---

23. A. Out of every ten Canadians how many would you guess speak English as their first language?

NUMBER: _____ 64/

B. Out of every ten Canadians how many would you guess speak French as their first language?

NUMBER: _____ 65/

C. Out of every ten Canadians how many would you guess speak a language other than English or French as their first language?

NUMBER: _____ 66/

(MAKE SURE YOUR NUMBERS ADD UP TO 10)

---

24. Besides the English and the French, what other groups of people do you know about who <u>live</u> in Canada? 67/

68/

69/

79/1

80/4

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

BEGIN DECK 2

(1-4)

25. On the whole, would you say that English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians are pretty much alike or pretty much different?

(Circle one answer)

I'd say they are alike in most ways ..... 1 — 5/0

I'd say they are different in most ways 2

I'm not sure 3

26. On which of the following things would you say that French-Canadians and English-Canadians are definitely alike and on which are they definitely different? (Circle one answer for each part of the question)

	DEFINITELY ALIKE		DEFINITELY DIFFERENT	I'M NOT SURE	
(a) the types of food they eat	1		2	3	6/4
(b) their friendliness to strangers	5		6	7	7/8
(c) their hair and clothing styles	1		2	3	8/4
(d) the language they speak	5		6	7	9/8
(e) the types of music they like	1		2	3	10/4
(f) the types of jobs they hold	5		6	7	11/8
(g) the amount of money they have	1		2	3	12/4
(h) the importance they attach to religion	5		6	7	13/8
(i) the importance they attach to having a good time	1		2	3	14/4
(j) the importance they attach to making a lot of money	5		6	7	15/8
(k) the kind of government they want Canada to have	1		2	3	16/4
(l) the type of country they want Canada to be in the future	5		6	7	17/8

18/

19/

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

27. Who have more in common--French-Canadians and Americans or French-Canadians and English-Canadians?

(Circle one answer)

French-Canadians and Americans ..... 5 — 20/8

French-Canadians and English-Canadians 6

I'm not sure 7

---

28. How well do you <u>speak</u> French right now?

(Circle one answer)

I know hardly a word of French ..... 1 — 21/0

I know a few French words and phrases but I don't really speak French at all 2

I speak a little French, but not enough to carry on a conversation 3

I can carry on a conversation in French, but not very easily 4

I speak French without any trouble at all 5

---

29. How useful would it be to you <u>right now</u> to be able to speak French--or speak it better?

(Circle one answer)

Very useful: I could use it every day ..... 1 — 22/0

Quite useful: I could use it often but not every day 2

Slightly useful: I could use it sometimes but not very often 3

Not useful at all: I don't think I'd ever use it 4

---

30. Thinking ahead to the future--say ten years from now--how useful do you think it would be to you then to be able to speak French?

(Circle one answer)

Very useful: I could use it every day ..... 6 — 23/5

Quite useful: I could use if often but not every day 7

Slightly useful: I could use it sometimes but not very often 8

Not useful at all: I don't think I'd ever use it 9

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

31. In which of the following ways would a better speaking knowledge of French definitely be helpful to you--either now or in the future? (Circle one answer for each part of the question)

	WOULD BE HELPFUL IN IN THIS WAY	WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL IN THIS WAY	
(a) In talking with my friends	1	2	24/0
(b) In making new friends	4	5	25/3
(c) In going out on dates	7	8	26/6
(d) In getting better grades in school	1	2	27/0
(e) In finding a job	4	5	28/3
(f) In getting ahead in the line of work I hope to enter	7	8	29/6
(g) In getting around to more places in my community	1	2	30/0
(h) In traveling to different parts of Canada	4	5	31/3
(i) In reading or watching television	7	8	32/6
			33/

32. Do you have any close friends who are French-speaking--that is, who speak French at home?

(Circle one answer)

Yes 1
No 2

34/0

33. Are there any French-speaking students in your class at school (or in the class you were in when you last attended school)?

(Circle one answer)

Yes 4
No 5
I don't know 6

35/3

34. Do any French-speaking families live within about a half mile of where you live?

(Circle one answer)

Yes 1
No 2
I don't know 3

36/0

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

35. About how often do you hear French spoken in your community--other than in French classes at school?

(Circle one answer)

Practically every day ..... 1 — 37/0

Once or twice a week 2

Occasionally--but not as often as once a week 3

Never 4

36. Here are some statements other people your age have made about speaking two languages. Would you agree or disagree with them? (Circle one answer for each part of the question.)

	I'D AGREE WITH THAT	I'D DISAGREE WITH THAT	I'M NOT SURE	
(a) French and English should be required subjects in all Canadian schools	1	2	3	38/0
(b) It would be a good idea to have road signs printed in both English and French all over Canada	5	6	7	39/4
(c) As far as I'm concerned, Canada should have just one official language--English	1	2	3	40/0
(d) As far as I'm concerned, Quebec should have just one official language--French	5	6	7	41/4
(e) It would be a good thing if all Canadians could speak both French and English	1	2	3	42/0
(f) There is no reason why an English-speaking Canadian should have to learn French if he is never going to use it.	5	6	7	43/4

37. Right now, how good would you say relations are between English-Canadians and French-Canadians--would you say good, fair or poor?

(Circle one answer)

Good ..... 1 — 44/0

Fair 2

Poor 3

I'm not sure 4

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

38. Right now would you say that English-French relations in Canada are getting better, getting worse, or staying about the same?

(Circle one answer)

Getting better	1	45/0
Getting worse	2	
Staying about the same	3	
I'm not sure	4	

39. Over the next ten years, do you think English-French relations in Canada will get better, get worse, or stay about the same as they are now?

(Circle one answer)

Get better	6	46/5
Get worse	7	
Stay about the same as they are now	8	
I'm not sure	9	

40. How important do you think each of the following things is in helping a young person to get ahead in Canadian life today? (Circle one answer for each part of the question.)

	VERY IMPORTANT	SLIGHTLY IMPORTANT	UNIMPORTANT	
(a) Get good grades in school	1	2	3	47/0
(b) Know the right people	5	6	7	48/4
(c) Come from the right family	1	2	3	49/0
(d) Get a university education	5	6	7	50/4
(e) Come from the right religious group.	1	2	3	51/0
(f) Be born in Canada	5	6	7	52/4
(g) Be able to speak both French and English	1	2	3	53/0
(h) Have a nice personality	5	6	7	54/4
(i) Work hard	1	2	3	55/0
(j) Have parents with a lot of money	5	6	7	56/4

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

41. What type of work does your father do? (If your father is not living please put down the type of work he did during most of his lifetime)

OCCUPATION OR
TYPE OF WORK _____ 57/ 58/

---

42. What occupation or line of work do you hope to get into eventually?

OCCUPATION OR
LINE OF WORK _____ 59/ 60/

---

43. After you have finished all your schooling, how good do you think your chances will be of finding a good job somewhere in this province?

(Circle one answer)

Definitely good 1 61/0
Probably good 2
Fair 3
Probably not so good 4
Definitely not so good 5
I'm not sure 6

---

44. After you have finished all your schooling, how good do you think your chances would be of finding a good job somewhere else in Canada?

(Circle one answer)

Definitely good 1 62/0
Probably good 2
Fair 3
Probably not so good 4
Definitely not so good 5
I'm not sure 6

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

45. In which province do you live?

(Circle your province)

Alberta	0
British Columbia	1
Manitoba	2
New Brunswick	3
Newfoundland	4
Nova Scotia	5
Ontario	6
Prince Edward Island	7
Quebec	8
Saskatchewan	9

63/y

46. Which other Canadian provinces have you either lived in or visited?

(Circle all the other provinces in which you have lived or visited.)

Alberta	0
British Columbia	1
Manitoba	2
New Brunswick	3
Newfoundland	4
Nova Scotia	5
Ontario	6
Prince Edward Island	7
Quebec	8
Saskatchewan	9
None. I have never been in any other Canadian province	X

64/y

65/y

79/2

80/4+8

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE
BEGIN DECK 3

47. Please indicate your sex. (1-4)

(Circle one)

Male 1 5/0

Female 2

48. How old were you on your last birthday?

(Circle one answer)

Thirteen 3 6/y

Fourteen 4

Fifteen 5

Sixteen 6

Seventeen 7

Eighteen 8

Nineteen 9

Twenty 0

49. Are you currently attending school?

(Circle one answer)

Yes: full-time 1 7/0

Yes: part-time 2

No: not at all 3

50. Are you currently working?

(Circle one answer)

Yes: full-time 1 8/0

(What is your occupation?)

_____

Yes: part-time 2

No: not at all 3 9/

10/

51. By next summer, how many years of schooling will you have completed--counting from the first grade of elementary school? 11/

NUMBER OF YEARS: _____ 12/

52. By next summer, how many years altogether will you have studied French in school? 13/

NUMBER OF YEARS: _____ 14/

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

53. After next summer, how many more years do you expect to attend school altogether--including high school, college, university, technical school, business college, or anything else?

NUMBER OF YEARS: _____ 15/ 16/

---

54. Were you born in Canada?

(Circle one answer)

Yes 1 17/0

No 2

---

55. Were your parents born in Canada?

(Circle one answer)

Yes: both parents were 6 18/5

No: my father was but my mother wasn't... 7

No: my mother was but my father wasn't... 8

No: neither parent was 9

---

56. From which country outside of Canada did your father's ancestors originally come?

COUNTRY: _____ 19/

☐ Check here if you don't know 20/

---

57. From which country outside of Canada did your mother's ancestors originally come?

COUNTRY: _____ 21/

☐ Check here if you don't know 22/

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

58. People your age often disagree with their parents. How often do you disagree with your parents on the following things?
(Circle one answer for each part of the question.)

	WE DISAGREE....			
	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	NEVER	
(a) School	1	2	3	23/0
(b) What I do in my spare time	5	6	7	24/4
(c) Politics	1	2	3	25/0
(d) The line of work I want to go into	5	6	7	26/4
(e) Religion	1	2	3	27/0
(f) Who I go out with on dates	5	6	7	28/4
(g) The amount of time I study	1	2	3	29/0

30/

59. What language do you most often speak at home?

(Circle one answer)

English ..... 1 — 31/0
French 2
Other (Which one?) 3

_____

60. How many years, altogether, did your father attend school?

(Circle one answer)

He never attended school ..... 1 — 32/0
1 - 4 years 2
5 - 7 years 3
8 years 4
9 - 11 years 5
12 years 6
13 - 15 years 7
16 years or more 8
I'm not sure 9

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

61. How many years, altogether, did your mother attend school?

(Circle one answer)

She never attended school	1	33/0
1 - 4 years	2	
5 - 7 years	3	
8 years	4	
9 - 11 years	5	
12 years	6	
13 - 15 years	7	
16 years or more	8	
I'm not sure	9	

---

62. To which religious group do you belong?

(Circle one answer)

Catholic	1	34/0
Protestant	2	
(Which denomination?)		
_____		
Other	3	
(Which one?)		
_____		

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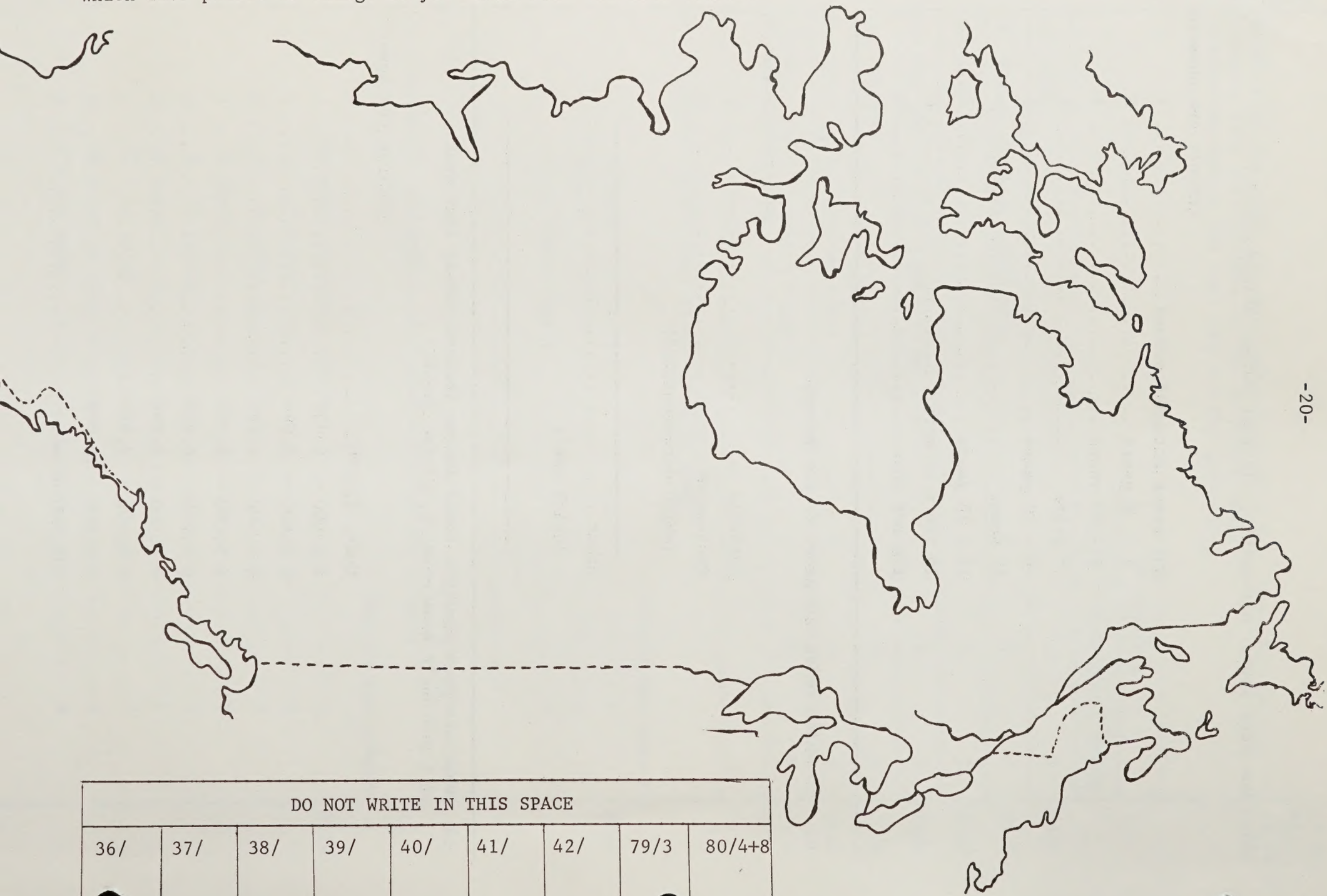
63. What was your family's total income (before taxes) last year? (If you don't know exactly, please guess.)

(Circle one answer)

Under $2,000	0	35/y
$ 2,000 - 2,999	1	
$ 3,000 - 3,999	2	
$ 4,000 - 4,999	3	
$ 5,000 - 5,999	4	
$ 6,000 - 6,999	5	
$ 7,000 - 7,999	6	
$ 8,000 - 9,999	7	
$10,000 - 14,999	8	
$15,000 or more	9	

64. Here is a blank map of Canada. It has no place names on it at all. Your job is to write in <u>five</u> words or phrases that you think best describe Canada. You can put down anything you want, and write anywhere on the map, but you can only put on <u>five</u> things.

Which five places or things do you think best describe Canada?



DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE								
36/	37/	38/	39/	40/	41/	42/	79/3	80/4+8
●							●	